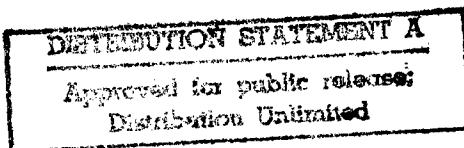


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3 January 1984



# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

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3 January 1984

**EAST EUROPE REPORT**  
**POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS**

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

SLOVAK MINORITY CONGRESS LAUDS HUNGARY

AU300931 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 25 Nov 83 p 6

[Dispatch by Budapest correspondent Vojtech Vesely: "Positive Aspects of an Ethnic Minority's Development; After the Congress of the Democratic Union of Slovaks in Hungary"]

[Text] Only older citizens still remember what it once meant in Hungary to be a "toth," as the local Slovaks used to be derogatorily called, although they really did not deserve this name. After all, for the 2 centuries during which they have settled there, they have been helping through honest work to develop the country and have shared with its people the good as well as the bad times.

The bourgeoisie implanted the poison of nationalism in relations between nationalities and thus left behind an unpropitious ideological heritage. It is one of the historical merits of Hungarian communists and other progressive forces in the country that this heritage has been overcome, not only in declarations but in reality, in the everyday life. The party's nationality policy today ensures all civil rights of members of minorities in Hungary and a comprehensive development of their language and culture and, at the same time, unites them with the Hungarian nation in socialist patriotism.

The results of this policy in the last 5 years were assessed by the recent Seventh Congress of the Democratic Union of Slovaks in Hungary, which was held in Budapest. It was attended by 143 delegates and numerous guests.

The balance sheet it drew was a positive one. According to the congress report, the number of kindergarten, elementary school, and secondary school pupils studying the Slovak language has increased from 9,000 in 1978 to more than 11,000. Summer camps are being organized that specialize in reading and language tuition. There are dozens of amateur ensembles and groups. The last Hungary-wide festival, for example, was attended by 35 Slovak choirs with 900 participants. The activity of the union's clubs is also attractive. LUDOVO NOVINY, the union's weekly, has reached an edition of 1,800 copies and the union's yearbook is published in an edition of 5,500 copies. More books are being published by authors who are members of the Slovak minority than in the past. A group of Slovak writers and poets is being formed. In

September, Hungarian television began the regular monthly broadcast of a 15-minute Slovak program. Slovak broadcasts on Hungarian radio have an air time of 55 minutes a week.

The congress expressed appreciation for the contribution of Czechoslovak institutions to enriching the cultural life of Slovaks in Hungary. It also dealt with some problems, especially with the lack of Slovak language instructors and with the weakening activity of traditional amateur theater ensembles.

On behalf of the MSZMP, the congress was addressed by Valeria Benke, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Politburo. She expressed appreciation for the positive aspects of the union's activity and called on the union to seek even more effective forms of activating the approximately 100,000 citizens of Slovak nationality living in Hungary in solving local and all-social tasks.

The new, 61-member Central Committee of the Democratic Union of Slovaks in Hungary elected as its chairman Jan Such, the union's former secretary general. The congress also sent a letter of greetings to Janos Kadar, first secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, in which it vows allegiance, in the name of Slovaks living in Hungary, to the party's constructive peace policy.

The processes that weaken the national awareness of minorities are objective and inevitable. Also in Hungary, these processes exercise their influence. However, it is becoming apparent that the socialist society and, above all, the party's Leninist nationality policy create enough scope for preserving and strengthening all that is positive in the life of ethnic minorities.

CSO: 2400/128

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

BRIEFS

CPCZ DELEGATION ENDS BUDAPEST VISIT--A delegation of the Prague City CPCZ Committee, led by (Jiri Randak), chairman of its Control and Auditing Commission, yesterday ended its 5-day visit to Budapest. The delegation was received by Laszlo Marothy, member of the MSZMP Central Committee Political Bureau and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee, and by Imre Somogyi, secretary of the party's Central Control Committee. [Text] [LD031152 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 0100 GMT 3 Dec 83]

FOJTIK RECEIVES MSZMP DELEGATION--Today Jan Fojtik, candidate of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, received a study delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party Central Committee, led by the deputy head of its department of agitation and propaganda, Sandor Boros. The visitors to Czechoslovakia familiarized themselves with the experiences of the Communist Party in the Marxist-Leninist education of Communists. [Text] [LD030036 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 2 Dec 83]

FRIENDSHIP EXHIBITION IN PRAGUE--An exhibition entitled Our Most Faithful Friends opened today in the Klement Gottwald Museum in Prague to mark the 40th anniversary of signing the treaty of friendship, mutual assistance and postwar cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union. The preview of the exhibition was attended by Jan Fojtik, candidate member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and by Vasil Bejda, Otto Cmolik, Miroslav Muller and Lubomir Prochazka--heads of departments of the party Central Committee, and by other officials. Also present was Soviet ambassador to Czechoslovakia Aleksandr Botvin. The exhibition makes use of almost 200 exhibits to illustrate the history and present state of mutual relations between Czechoslovakia and the Soviet Union, friendship between the peoples of the two countries, and their cooperation in the fight for progress and world peace. For the first time, the originals of all the agreements signed are being exhibited. [Text] [LD060013 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1430 GMT 5 Dec 83]

CSO: 2400/128

BULGARIA

HIGHER DISCIPLINE IN MILITARY TRAINING URGED

Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 22 Nov 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by Lt Gen Dincho Velev: "Training Discipline the Heart of Command and Organizational Work"]

[Text] The state of training discipline determines the fruitfulness and quality of every training exercise and of the training process in the units. By its nature it is the heart of the command and organizational work of commanders and staffs at all levels. It is manifested also in the correct, timely and exact planning of the training process and of every training exercise.

Commanders and staffs make a realistic calculation of training time taking into account the assigned missions and requirements of programs. They determine the methodological sequence for the mastery of syllabus material, with classes in the types of training preceding and backing up tactical training in all instances.

Training discipline is sometimes grossly violated by individual commanders and staffs who turn planning into a simple arithmetic calculation. They thus violate the requirements of methodology to proceed sequentially from the simple to the complex. This shows that they have not sufficiently mastered, for example, the ability to deliver fire under simpler conditions, which results in the frequent repetition of complex test exercises in fire training.

There are cases where tactical exercises are planned without having covered the material on engineering training, and trainees are required to apply unscientific knowledge. This requires integration of the exercises and is planned only when the trainees in individual training or specialist instruction have acquired the necessary knowledge and skills in the various types of training.

/Practical experience has shown/ [in boldface] that the proper planning of the training process is only the start of the building of training discipline. Afterwards come the goal-setting and comprehensive and continuous organization of the training process. It also includes the comprehensive training of commanders. Therefore it is intolerable when subunits rehearse, for example, "The

"Individual Soldier In Offensive Combat," and some commanders and staff officers do not have detailed knowledge of the form, organization and methodology for conducting this exercise.

Clearly, in these cases command and organizational work has been slighted. Therefore the regulatory documents provide for command and methods classes for the further training of exercise leaders. Have they been conducted in a first-rate manner? Is the training of commanders at all levels good? Is training discipline in the units up to the mark?

But sometimes it is easier to stay in the office and busy oneself with administrative work, with "social," construction and other activity than instruction. Therefore training discipline specifies a basic standard for commanders at all levels, specifying what they will do during the week, the day and the hour and in what way they will have improved their own training and that of their subordinates.

The other no less important task that commanders have to perform is the provision of materiel for the training process. Many commanders and staffs know how to plan the distribution of training facilities, practice weapons and other equipment for the exercises scheduled for the day and week. When, however, implementation begins, the exercises are a failure. Thus some of the practice weapons and training facilities turn out to be unserviceable and the unit either does not conduct the exercise or conducts it with many simulated aspects. Then comes a series of excuses. But what first and foremost lies back of these is poor command and organizational work and its inadequate implementation--to be more precise, the work style is formalistic and bureaucratic.

The involvement of personnel in the training process likewise is an important condition for the shaping of high training discipline. We heard not very flattering comments about one commander from some chiefs of services on the senior staff. In his unit he had laid down for himself and his subordinates strict compliance with the allotment of training time throughout the day. And they always participated in the training process. This was proper. But the indignation of some had to do with the fact that the training process was the job mainly of junior officers, while for senior officers there was a different job --that of supervising.

Is this right? The answer is both yes and no. For it mobilizes the greater control and assistance of the experienced officers. Moreover, excessive personnel expenditure on exercises is prevented. But otherwise this surely will result in the disruption of classes. Therefore, ensuring the involvement of personnel in the training process is a reflection of the conviction and personal discipline of every commander and staff. The personal conviction and discipline of the commander and staff officer determine not only his active participation in the training process, but also the character and quality of all his command and organizational work.

### **Comprehensive Approach a Must**

It is worth mentioning that training discipline depends not only on the command and organizational training and education of the command, but also on his will, perseverance, and mental and physical hardening. There are cases where a given commander has the necessary training and high education, knows how to work with a team and respects his superiors and colleagues. But training discipline in his case is low; his training exercises do not achieve their assigned goals and are conducted with many simulated aspects. Clearly, this commander lacks the will and resolve to see the job through, to make demands.

What characterizes the training exercises of such commanders? The personal interest of the personnel is low, there is less drill exercise and more talking, and there is less practicing to achieve the necessary know-how. Here the simulated aspects in the training exercise are an expression of the commander's inadequate will, manifested in his so-called bonhomie that gradually turns into lack of interest. Training discipline and every other kind of discipline crumble. In this respect, concepts of concern for the soldier as a human being are erroneous. How will he evaluate the service of his subordinate and what will he say about it if his subordinate finishes his service untrained, unorganized and uneducated, unable to live with the team and for the team? Where better will he become aware of the necessity of laboring and of respecting duty and comradeship than in strenuous military labor with the whole military team?  
...

High training discipline inculcates high military virtues, personal discipline and excellent trainability. Consequently, genuine concern for their subordinate is shown by the commanders who establish high training discipline that molds the communist virtues. That is why the shaping of the necessary military characteristics, physical and mental toughness, will and resoluteness is an important requirement in the training of cadets and students--our future officers. If we look for reasons (such as there is not enough time, he's a cadet, etc.) why he should not dig a trench but only trace it out, why we should transport him to classes instead of his running the distance on foot, why we should avoid training exercises at night and in bad weather, why we should ease up on the physical and mental stress, etc., how will we build strong-willed qualities in these future commanders and how will they make demands on their future subordinates?

### **Lessons to Be Drawn Clear**

For long years in the school of which Officer Kalupov is head there has existed an established tradition not only of maintaining high training discipline, but also of preserving exceptional cleanliness and internal order. Here the workload on training vehicles is very great, but nobody leaves to eat or sleep until they are serviced and got ready for the next training exercise.

We enter the premises. A strip of carpet is spread along the corridor; the boards, though old, are scrubbed till they shine. The cleanliness of the latrines is enviable, too. We came back suddenly. The strip of carpet in the

corridor had been swept up and duty personnel had cleaned again. Clearly, not only industriousness, but also a taste for cleanliness and beauty has been inculcated in the students. In the tank park there is a tactical training area with a target range and feedback. Few hours are allotted on the training program but, aware of the importance of tactical and fire training, the commanders and students use every minute for their training. Is it a chance state of affairs that for many years this unit has been cited as a unit with no accident or serious disciplinary infractions? Certainly not.

Officer Raychev and his assistants do not understand these matters thus, however. In their case, they continue to find some reason not to construct field training facilities of their own. Like the cuckoo, they go to somebody else's tank park with a target range and hurriedly perform their planned firing and driving. But, on the other hand, they will busy themselves the entire year with their offices, classes and special-purpose rooms. . .

In the training unit where Officer Todorov serves modern training facilities were constructed years ago and the most modern training methods were demonstrated. But instead of developing the training facilities, class exercises were increased and individual instruction was neglected. The tension of the training process declined unwarrantably, "concern" for the trainees was intensified, more leaves were granted, drill training was cut down, the standard and control of the training process were reduced, and the state of training discipline--and then of discipline as a whole--fell.

In conclusion, we must say that control, and assistance for the constant improvement, of the state of training discipline are an important element of the command and organizational work of commanders and their staffs. It is not an expression of distrust, but an important prerequisite for improvement of their activity in the process of instructing and educating soldiers.

6474  
CSO: 2200/48

EDITORIAL QUOTES UNPUBLISHED PRESIDIUM DOCUMENT

Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Nov 83 p 1

/Editorial: "Legality, Morals, Discipline"/

/Text/ "Successful development of socialist society depends on a consistent and systematic utilization and upkeep of Marxist-Leninist principles in all areas. One of these is the maxim stating that socialist society and its citizens can draw riches only from honest and industrious work, awarded according to its quantity, quality and social significance. When securing this development, we can divide and consume only that which we have created by our own honest work. This holds for the entire society and for each of its citizens."

The above is a quotation from the introduction of the "CPCZ Presidium Letter to Party Bodies and Organizations on Improving Struggle Against Violations of Principles of Socialist Law, Morals and Discipline."

Let us add to it that society has to cultivate in every worker a great consciousness, culture, know-how and the ability to implement the advantages and high points of socialism rationally.

However, the mentioned idea is going to remain only a dream, requirement, norm or imperative if it does not, and will not, become a material force shaping and conditioning the thought processes, attitudes, and actions of individuals, teams and society as a whole.

Although we have reached quite a few positive achievements in this effort, and although the prevailing majority of the working people fully identifies with these principles, doing their jobs honestly and with devotion, there are still too many individuals who bypass, belittle or violate them. These are the people who enrich themselves in different ways to the detriment of society or their fellow-citizens, frequently without any scruples and at variance with socialist morals.

This is how the CPCZ Presidium letter reacts to the above cheerless situation: "Unjustified acquisition of possessions or other personal profit has a negative political impact on the thinking and actions of people. This holds especially in cases where the property and way of life of some citizens is at obvious variance with their justified income and proprietary possibilities. Of special gravity are cases where such actions originate from some managers with responsible

functions. The consequences bring harm to the party's authority and to the interests of socialist society...."

Yet again we could say that any hard and truthful statement in a platonic statement, and remains such, unless the problems, setbacks and abuses, although verbally pilloried, are gradually but uncompromisingly solved and eradicated. This will remain the case until the antisocial activities of such individuals, their parasitism and their speculations are met with emphatic, effective condemnation and punishment.

The CPCZ Presidium letter emphasizes and underlines that it is inadmissible to confuse a sensitive and considerate relationship with the cadres with an "inappropriate" opportunistic benevolence to their mistakes and shortcomings, with a liberalism towards those who do not fulfill their tasks, cannot manage their missions, the authority and the responsibility they were given, those who overlook disorder and lack of discipline, disregarding critical remarks. Also, it is impossible to protect workers who have come into conflict with the principles of the socialist morality and legal order. It is necessary to conduct a systematic and inexorable fight against disorder, theft, speculation and bribery, and against personal, local and group interests.

The primary task of every working place in our society is to strengthen discipline and order, which represent the basic presumption of an efficient struggle against negative phenomena, and of a successful fulfilling of the 16th CPCZ Congress' program and policies.

When we stop to think--honestly--about the defects and abuses which keep worrying and harassing us, obviously we reach the critical and self-critical conclusion that the times have gone when we used to waste time in futile or inefficient preaching and enlightenment, in unconvincing drive, education or re-education. Everything in life--the good as well as the evil--has its limits. It is necessary critically to re-evaluate our current forms and methods of struggle against stealing, misuse of and taking possession of socialist property, and against the violation of the principles of socialist morality and discipline. Those methods which are good and have passed the test of practical application should be strengthened; everything which has been found inefficient, irrelevant or lifeless should be replaced by new, well-advised, vigorous methods. Nobody and nothing must be allowed to discourage us from taking this course. Nothing would be more detrimental than to step back and capitulate before various abuses and antisocial activities. The struggle against the propagators and manifestations of these antisocial activities requires a strong character, conviction, determination, courage to criticize an unworthy superior, too, to stand up against demagogic which considers and presents it as antisocial when people are asked to be disciplined, to maintain order, protect socialist property and fulfill their tasks devotedly. The requirement to honor and observe the principles of socialist legality, morals and discipline applies to everybody in our society, with no exceptions. In this context nobody is of a special status, everybody is obliged to abide by it, and when somebody violates it, he will have to answer for it to the party, the state and the working class.

In this country, there should not be people whose names seem to be untouchable and beyond the reach of law. The violation of socialist lawfulness and its prevention is not only a legal question. It is also a social and moral question, because first of all we strive for a socialist human being, for the protection of his dignity and honor, for his best civic properties and high moral principles. Yet any law is alive only then when it is being observed, when all people everywhere abide by it.

Hence the first and basic principle of an efficient struggle against antisocial phenomena is the emphatic condemnation and forceful punishment of anybody violating the legal and moral principles of socialist society. The second principle--which is always also the prerequisite of the first one--is the incorruptible, unconditional requirement of conducting this struggle not on the level of moralizing, generality and anonymity, but always and under any circumstances in a concrete, individual way. If somebody likes it or not--and we have mentioned this a hundred times before--the aggressiveness of our struggle against manifestations of the remainders of the capitalist order and bourgeois regressions, against antisocial features in the behavior of individuals unconditionally requires and calls for concrete action. Any antisocial phenomenon results from human activity, from the actions of an individual or a group of people in which everybody has a name and a surname. This means that if such people are to be affected, efficiently condemned and justly punished, they have to be withdrawn from anonymity. There is no other consistent way.

An irreplaceable requirement in the struggle against antisocial activities is that of further elevating the level and efficiency of political-educational and ideological work, and its firm attachment to the practical tasks of advanced stages in the building of socialism. In other words, it is necessary to unfold a broad ideological operation as an inseparable part of political-organizational and managerial activities, at the same time expanding this operation in its complexity as comprehension of world outlook, work education and moral guidance.

Where unity as well as mutual interdependence of such activity is absent, there thrives the ground for liberalism, practical opportunism, a hot-bed of antisocial phenomena. This is where formalism blooms, in which reality is presented as a wish, and wishful thinking is taken for reality, the "true facts" of reports are considered to give a realistic picture of a situation, and day-to-day promises are taken for warranties of certainty.

There is a justified emphasis put on the significance of ideological safeguarding of economic activities. However, of no lesser, if not greater, importance is the economic or--in a broader sense--social safeguarding of the level and efficiency of ideological work. After all, any disorder, negligence, violation of law, morals and of discipline, greed and bribery devalue the endeavor of thousands of agitators and propagandists.

The essence of socialist discipline consists in full engagement of every person in his or her workplace; in rational, downright scientific, utilization of an individual's or team's abilities, know-how, invention or experience. Here a lot depends on well-organized political-educational and ideological undertaking. However, the latter should definitely lean on modern organization of work,

strict material-technical securing of production, and improvement of manifold forms and means for material and moral stimulation.

We refuse to acknowledge the opinion that the CPCZ Presidium letter is a whip aimed mostly at managers performing responsible functions, and that their cases are supposed to be a prelude to--as some isolated voices have been heard to say--in a kind of purge or a mass "rolling of heads." These are the voices of those who evidently--as the saying goes--have dirty hands.

In the conception of a simple man every manager--whether he is a party member or not--has to be a bearer of noble ideals and moral properties. It is as if he reflected the great confidence and authority which has been won by the party among the working people by its truthful and revolutionary deeds, by its incessant care about their needs and interests.

Yet that is not only a great honor, but also an immense responsibility.

9910  
CSO: 2400/94

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

PEACE STATEMENTS, ACTIONS, REACTIONS

Dissident Authors Arrested

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Nov 83 p 4

[Article by "Ws." datelined Berlin 13 Nov 83: "A Peace Anthology From the GDR: Five of Ten Authors in 'Preventive Detention'"]

[Text] On Friday, November 4, the security organs of the GDR placed 100 persons in "preventive" detention. On that day, members of GDR peace groups and representatives of the Greens from the FRG wanted to hand petitions to the embassies of the United States and the Soviet Union in East Berlin. Among those arrested were also five of ten authors who are contributing to an anthology on questions of peace. They were authors Sascha Anderson, Ruediger Rosenthal, Detlef Opitz, Lutz Rathenow, and photographer Harald Hauswald. His personal working calendar, written work materials, prose manuscripts, drafts of poems, letters, and two brochures on the peace policies of the Greens were taken from Rosenthal. All five authors--like anthology contributor Reiner Fluegge, who escaped detention because he was absent from East Berlin,--belong to the original 72 GDR signers of the appeal to the German Bundestag on "catch-up" armament: "Citizens of both German states appeal to the Bundestag: Say No!"

The anthology "Antitank Rocket Launchers for Queens of Heart\*", which will be brought out at the beginning of next year by the West Berlin publishing house of Oberbaum, and which was mentioned publicly for the first time in the publisher's catalogue at the Frankfurt Book Fair, is being edited by Lutz Rathenow. In addition to the abovenamed, Uwe Kolbe, Wilfried Linke, Thomas Guenther and Guenther Ullmann also participate. Photographer Harald Hauswald contributes 24 photographs. At the end of September, Rathenow informed the chairmen of the writers' unions, Kant (GDR) and Engelmann (FRG), as well as the two PEN centers, of the planned publication of this anthology. In his letter he welcomed the statements of the writers' unions on World Peace Day 1983 and wrote that it was not enough to sign appeals. The call by both writers' unions to oppose any further armament had given him the idea to compile an anthology "in which young authors from the GDR react to the threat to peace." The texts of the nine writers,

\* [the German is ambiguous--it could also mean "for the Ladies of My Heart"]

none of whom are members of the GDR writers' union, do this in a very forceful manner. Because of the very fact that criticism of self and of one's own country was not avoided, the other state must take seriously the criticism of its deployment decision. The entire anthology represents one single criticism of any pre- or "catch-up" armament because it demonstrates an energetic interest in questions of peace. For this reason it should rapidly become effective where missile deployment will soon be imminent: in the Federal Republic.

In order to avoid delay in publishing, he ignores the license procedure for publications by GDR authors in the Federal Republic, but he is of the opinion that, at any rate, the volume will soon be published in the GDR. Kant and Engelmann have not responded to the letter so far, and it is not known if Engelmann has protested the arrests.

#### Berlin Bishop Finally Petitions

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 14 Nov 83 p 4

[Article from "epd" datelined Berlin 13 Nov 83: "Bishop Forck Delivers Petitions at Embassies"]

[Text] On Friday, representatives of the Protestant Church in Berlin-Brandenburg managed to have about an hour-long talk on questions of peace in the embassies of the United States and the Soviet Union. Bishop Forck delivered a petition in which both governments are called upon "to try everything in order to still bring about an understanding at the Geneva talks." Last Friday, Bishop Forck had been denied access to the embassies after delivery of a peace petition by members of the peace movement in the GDR and the Federal Republic had been prevented by state authorities. The East Berlin consistory made it known that "in the past, especially during the past 10 days, Bishop Forck had been approached and asked by Christian and church groups to express their concern about the state of the negotiations in Geneva to the representatives of the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States, and to inform these governments via their embassies that in this country, many people are deeply worried."

Both embassies agreed to transmit the bishop's petition to their governments.

#### Synod Criticizes Missile Deployment

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 15 Nov 83 p 3

[Article from "epd" datelined Schwerin 14 Nov 83: "Synod Concerned About New Missiles in the GDR--a Letter from the Mecklenburg Synod to all Parishes"]

[Text] The synod of the Mecklenburg Protestant Church has stated its concern about the planned deployment of nuclear short-range missiles in the GDR and has asked the GDR Defense Council to re-examine this decision

in favor of "other measures of security policy." A letter, which was unanimously approved by the synod in Schwerin on Sunday and addresses the 350 parishes of the Land Church, argues that deployment of missiles in the GDR does not create greater security: "In the continuance of the spirit and logic of deterrence, we recognize rather the drift toward a nuclear catastrophe."

In the 4-day consultations the synod studied thoroughly a great number of petitions regarding responsibility for peace and the environment, and pointed in a resolution to "the worries and fears of many citizens about increasing damage to our environment." Church-owned agriculture was called upon to test "ecologically productive methods of farming." In its letter to the parishes, the synod also called for continuance of the "policy of mutual security and partnership in security."

The synod also dealt critically with official actions against dependent peace initiatives, especially by young people; registration of women for military service; and government-supported collections of signatures which have been carried out lately in schools and factories regarding the planned deployment of nuclear missiles in the GDR.

Lastly, the synod also expressed concern about the registration of women to serve in the armed forces, and the call for "fitness examinations for military service." The authorities explained that the military district commands only wanted to find out through polls whether they would be willing to offer voluntary service. But this poll in itself had caused "fear, worry and dread," as the synod letter states.

9917  
CSO: 2300/129

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MILITARY EXPENDITURES SEEN INCREASING

Bonn DIE WELT in German 25 Nov 83 p 5

[Article by 'hrk,' Berlin: "GDR Increases Expenditures for the Military; Great Amounts for Border Fortification"]

[Text] During the past year East Berlin has greatly increased its expenditures for the People's Army and the State Security Service. The increase by 6.3 percent, to almost 11 billion East mark, exceeded the growth rate of personal income by a considerable margin. This is the result of a study made by the FRG ministry for inner-German relations, published in the periodic newsletter from the domain of Minister Heinrich Windelen (CDU).

The study examines the East Berlin budget report for 1982, which had been approved by the People's Chamber the end of last October. It had a bottom line of revenues and expenditures of 182 billion mark. About 6 percent of those expenditures were for arms purchases, for maintaining and equipping the National People's Army and for training special forces of the state security service, which would be ready for action in case of internal unrest. The figure of just under 11 billion mark does however include only the openly declared line items. Not mentioned, among others, are such items as the cost of stationing the 350,000 members of the "Soviet Armed Forces Group in Germany" (GSSD)--a Red Army division.

Bonn's experts consider East Berlin's expenditure increases for border fortification to be "surprisingly high." For this purpose alone and for the "preservation of public law and order" the GDR budgeted 4.1 billion marks last year. That amount exceeded the 1981 figure by 7.2 percent. "This is the largest expenditure increase for those purposes since 1976," declares the inner-German relations ministry.

Hidden in this budget item are apparently the expenditures for the "modern border" with its electronically monitored perimeter fences and other security installations. This extensive--and expensive--project apparently made possible the promise by SED Secretary General Erich Honecker to eliminate "all" the booby-trap gun installations on the inner-German border.

Additionally, the budget provides an insight into the enormous financial tour de force which the GDR makes to support prices and costs for the basic necessities of the population. East Berlin spent 21.4 billion marks to keep the cost of bread, milk, sugar, flour and the 20-pfennig local public transport charge from increasing. Merely to maintain the controlled food prices, which are way below actual costs, required an expenditure of 11.6 billion marks. Public transportation--locally and aboard the state-owned railroad system--received a 3 billion mark subsidy. Considerable increases were necessary also in the subsidies for maintaining wholesale and retail prices for certain industrial products and for certain services. At year's end, the total of these payments amounted to 6.45 billion mark--almost 10 percent above those of 1981.

Another figure demonstrates the effect of the GDR's 30 percent lag in productivity behind the FRG, which Honecker himself admits, and the economy's overall need for catching up: "In 1982 exactly 30 percent of public expenditures were devoted to the direct and indirect subsidy of commercial enterprises," according to the Bonn report.

Last year East Berlin spent 8.7 billion mark toward keeping its promise of providing decent living quarters for every renter in the GDR by 1990. However, only 336 million mark were available for modernization which is more important since it is cheaper than erecting new buildings. To repair old buildings the government treasury paid 1.4 billion mark.

It is remarkable that despite the strenuous efforts to establish historical roots for the GDR, a mere 55 million mark were budgeted for the preservation of monuments--not much more than was spent on the country's music schools--41.1 million mark.

East Berlin is not chintzy where political prestige is to be gained: sports arenas, swimming pools and other medal-generating establishments were allocated 385 million mark. However, museums had to be satisfied with 170 million mark less.

9273  
CSO: 2300/163

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MORE REFORMATION ERA HISTORICAL RESEARCH IN PROSPECT

Halle FREIHEIT in German 11 Nov 83 p 12

/Interview with history professor Dr Hans Huebner by Heinz Fellenberg, date and place not specified: "New Research Results Enrich Contemporary Picture of Luther"

/Text/    /Question/    What are the results a historian considers to have been generated by the Luther celebrations?

/Answer/ It was the declared aim of the Luther celebrations to organize them as a demonstration of peace, humanitarianism and understanding among the peoples. We are perfectly justified in claiming that concept and actual happening coincided totally. After all, we succeeded in a generally interesting manner to honor the life and work of this great son of the German people and more clearly than ever fix the status he occupies in the nurture of our traditions.

The anniversary turned out to be a social challenge to the teaching and study involved in the ongoing development of the socialist consciousness of history. Not only we, the historians, but representatives of other disciplines have met it conscientiously. Above all we should note the positive fact that Marxist sociologists and theologians arrived at fruitful discussions on several occasions, though none had any illusions about being able to establish a standardized Luther image across the ideological frontiers.

The many scholarly functions and publications have been much appreciated abroad also. Obviously they still require thorough evaluation, but it is already evident that they generated a remarkable growth in our perception, thus enabling us in greater detail to determine the historic achievement of the great reformer and outline a differentiated image of his personality.

Unfortunately I can do no more here than give brief indications. We succeeded, for example, in comprehending the socially explosive force of the reformer's notions in their full societal extent and in ascertaining more facts about the older Luther who had long been neglected by scholars. No less important are new findings about Luther's cultural and international influence, and not least about his role in the historiography of the revolutionary German workers' movement.

We were generally able to reinforce the assertion that, taken together, the Reformation and the Peasant Wars represent an early bourgeois revolution at the beginning of the bourgeois revolutionary cycle in Europe.

/Question/ You were the head of a study group at the international scholars' conference on "Martin Luther--historic status and historic heritage" and, in a contribution to a plenary session, spoke on the topic: Martin Luther in the ideology and politics of the ruling class. What, actually, were you concerned with?

/Answer/ Western mass media have repeatedly insinuated that we would misuse Luther from the political aspect, elevating him, so to speak, to the status of chief witness for socialism. The working class never did that in the past, nor does it do that now.

On the other hand, the exploiting classes have often tried to make him the apologist of the powerful and authoritarian state in the meaning of the alliance between "throne and altar," or even claim him to be the apostle of warfare. I sought to prove this in my lecture. In the 1917 anniversary year, for example, the last remaining forces for the senseless imperialist world war were mobilized by an appeal to Luther's courageous stance.

Not only many Protestant Christians felt it to be an enormity when the attempt was made to use Luther's words to describe the nuclear bomb as "God's scourge." At the present time, when extreme NATO circles emphasize the recourse to nuclear warfare, more and more people are drawn to the ranks of the peace movement (rising on all continents and inspired by ethical principles based on Martin Luther's heritage). In his pamphlet "On the Question Whether a Soldier also Lives a Life Pleasing to God," Luther had written quite unequivocally: "The temporal authorities are not empowered by God to break the peace and begin a war but to defend peace and ward off those who seek war."

/Question/ What are the tasks confronting the study of history after the Luther celebrations with respect to the era of the early bourgeois revolution?

/Answer/ We did not honor Luther so impressively merely to forget him again. Such an attitude would contradict our interpretation of the socialist heritage and tradition. It will be necessary to continue interdisciplinary cooperation at national and international level and eliminate still persisting blank spots by methodical research so as to fully comprehend Luther's thought and action--precisely in all its contradictions.

At the same time let us remember that his age also bred other "giants of intellectual power, passion and character," as mentioned by Friedrich Engels. We need to do a good deal of catching up with regard to the study and description of the lives and works of such outstanding personalities as Andreas Karlstadt, Philipp Melanchthon, Ulrich Zwingli and John Calvin--to mention just a few.

Nor is it too early to remember that we will celebrate Thomas Muentzer's 500th birthday at the end of the 1980's. The anniversary of this great revolutionary is to be deliberately and thoroughly prepared. After all it was Muentzer who overcame Luther's class limitations and endeavored to put the word--the symbol of temporal power--into the hands of the popular masses. Let there be no doubt that he continues to rank far higher than the reformer in the traditions of the revolutionary workers' movement.

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

FRG COMMENT ON RELIGION'S STATUS AFTER LUTHER YEAR

Hamburg DIE ZEIT in German 18 Nov 83 pp 9-10

/Article by Diether Strothmann, political editor, datelined Leipzig in November:  
"Luther--and What Now?--When Everyday Life Torments the Christians"/

/Text/ It was the day before the end of the anniversary year. Before it high-flown speeches had resounded--first in East Berlin's State Opera, later on Eisleben Market Square, to the accompaniment of drums and trumpets--, state and Church gloried in their Martin Luther, each in their own phrases and with their own choice of quotations. The reformer's 500th birthday was celebrated festively and solemnly for many Sundays: Garlands for a memorable man.

Now, in the corner of a church on the edge of the pulsating Fair city, everyday life had resumed. Young Christians, including teachers, self-employed craftsmen, engineers, had assembled. And they did not even think of Luther. They talked of their own concerns, their own fears. And the strange reporter from the West, whom they had accepted in their neither festive nor solemn group, provided no reason for them to muzzle themselves, to pretend--as is the case otherwise in their lives amidst "real existing socialism." They often meet for such conversations and always speak freely. This time, too, in honor of Martin Luther the reformer, who always spoke frankly and freely.

One of them commented: "If Karl Marx were to live now, in the GDR, he would quickly be expelled." Another reported his 12-year old daughter saying that she could not trust anyone except her parents and grandfather--"not even grandma because she is too likely to quickly tell everybody." A third described his fear when, at a training session, he dared to be the only one to vote against the text of an anti-NATO "armament" solidarity address to the chairman of the Council of State. A friend from the group of Christians countered: "We must not allow our fears to grow up within us." Another one talked of the customary hypocrisy, something people have become so used to that they can barely distinguish falsehood from truth. The man sitting opposite him rejoined: "That is precisely it. Our worst difficulties arise because we can no longer say what we think but say what we do not think." It is the world of the "two faces," where the people of the GDR--and not just Christians --live. :And that with the two faces is already found among the children."

Everyday life in the "first socialist worker-and-peasant state on German soil, everyday life even on this day honoring Martin Luther. The wife of a minister comments: "Our government simply does not know the kind of people who live here. Due to the reciprocal distrust, the gap grows ever wider--between this government and

the citizens." Once inside their homes, even activists and functionaries "switch off" completely, "put on their slippers, turn on the idiot box."

Their world: Plan fulfillment, indoctrination, education to hatred, surveillance--from infancy on. And once someone openly professes Christianity, he no longer has the slightest chance of advancement; if, for the sake of his beliefs, he refuses to vote for unilateral resolutions, he is given a warning; if he backs his son in resistance to military education in the school--military education pervading even mathematics and physics lessons--, he is expelled from the parent advisory councils; if he himself enters a closed congregational group as a new member, he is initially suspected of being an informer. Where, in this everyday world of the GDR, is the "freedom of the Christian" preached so lucidly and firmly by Martin Luther for the first time in Church history?

Where the state--so actively involved in the preparation of the Luther Year--uttered the concern that it might actually "be lutherized," where Church people fear the reformer might be celebrated in this republic as a "squarely planted hero" and "might be stifled by being embraced by everybody"--everyone praised Luther in his own way. At the festive function organized by the government's Luther Committee (chairman Erich Honecker) in the State Opera across from the restored monument to Frederick II, CDU chairman Gerald Goetting spoke for 1 hour and claimed the Protestant as "the cause of the entire people" for the GDR as the "state of peace." Honecker's deputy in the Council of State interpreted Luther's theses on the "state's duty to wield the sword" to preserve peace as the justification of "armed defense readiness," entirely in the meaning of the official slogan "peace must be armed," if need be with the SS-20. That is why he undertook to link Luther's views on the work ethic with the principles of socialist work morality," because these had only been realized in socialism."

All honor to Martin Luther--but even the rather reserved Thuringian Land Bishop and chairman of the Church's Luther Committee Werner Leich needed to protest such frivolous and superficial claims: "As far as the Church is concerned, it is quite obvious to us that there cannot now be a direct application for Luther's statement on war and peace." Modern war is "totally different from the wars of the 16th Century."

All honor to the state as Luther's celebrant--but it seems presumptuous for Erich Honecker to claim that the "working people's" much praised readiness in the course of many months to "have committed themselves to the preservation of this precious heritage of the Past" also speaks for their "profound love for the homeland." In any case, since Federal President Carstens and, subsequently, the North European Protestant monarchs canceled their visits for this occasion, Erich Honecker also refused to mount the rostrum in the State Opera or attend the Church celebrations of Luther's birthday in Eisleben. Instead, at the appointed time and escorted only by state functionaries, he laid a wreath at the reformer's monument in Wittenberg.

Martin Luther, the giant. God's brave rebel, super powerful. That is how the SED leaders "presented the heritage" to their citizens, neatly cut to size, planed and polished. However, in the Luther Year of the GDR, the Church also was given time to catch its breath, had an opportunity to remember its power and strength. It was able to breathe deeply before the threatening emplacement of new rockets in the two

German states. In this entire period the state organs and party bureaucracies were helpful about festivities and festivals: The organization of seven church assemblies, the transportation, accommodation and feeding of roughly 200,000 attendants, the propagation and publicity for lay conferences from Rostock to Dresden. The Church was talked of as at no other time; it even enjoyed the benevolence of the state security forces as never before. Though the responsible Church personnel strictly kept their part of the bargain and did not permit any spontaneous actions, something like a medium sized" miracle had happened. The usually so difficult and ponderous relationship between Church and State was working. It worked for Luther's sake. Now, though, the festive days are over, the days when Church and state got on with one another. Everyday life has reclaimed both, and pressure will consequently rise again--exercised by the state on the Church and suffered by the latter.

It began almost immediately. Even in the week before the celebrations, Berlin Bishop Gottfried Forck had been forbidden in most unmistakable manner possible to hand in a disarmament petition, signed by West German Greens and GDR friends of peace, at the American and Soviet embassies in East Berlin; it took the urgent entreaties of the most senior Church leaders for him to be finally allowed to carry out his mission. The deluded comrades in government and the party apparatus had been driven onto the barricades by the critical remarks of Church Union chairman and Saxon Bishop Johannes Hempel at the Potsdam Synod on the "atrophy of the creative potential in our society," the pressures on Christian parents, the "bitterness" felt about the "humiliating organization of interaction between state representatives and citizens," the right of the young to be "angry." Consequently the Church newspapers were not permitted to publish the Synod's rocket resolutions. At the beginning of the anniversary year young people had been dragged to the police precincts for wearing badges reading "swords into plowshares" on their jackets; FDJ organizers had demolished their banners at peace marches, and the People's Police had arrested them for demonstrating megadeath on Alexander Square. Lately they were prevented in Leipzig and Eisleben to canvass for peace.

What will happen to the Church, the free space it struggled for, the influence it earned--once the rockets are in place? Christians in the GDR call it simply "22 November." It is a fateful day for the Church also, on its audacious and courageous march along the narrow devide between a "Church for others and a Church of the others" (East Berlin consistory counselor Manfred Stolpe), between "adaptation and rejection" (Magdeburg's former Bishop Werner Krusche).

Albrecht Schoenherr, "bishop in reserve" and forerunner of the "Church in socialism," who wrung the concession of "equal rights and equal respect for Communists and Christians" from Erich Honecker in the historic conversation of March 1978, is of good heart: "The GDR's Church policy will survive the Luther Year." Others are more doubtful, for example Joachim Rogge, president of the United Church and Luther biographer: "The discovery of the reformer's heritage may be turned against all of us"; or, to cite Wittenberg pastor Friedrich Schorlemmer: "After the arms modernization they will accuse us: 'All you want is to weaken socialism. What is the West German Church doing?' We are hard put to it to reject this suspicion"; or, quoting Manfred Stolpe: "If the arms screw continues to turn, we will be among those affected."

What is the Church's advice to young Christians who have lately been complaining, during the "1983 peace decade": "I fear my backbone might break." What power will the Church have then to take the part of draft resisters, peace demonstrators and would-be emigrants who languish in jails? How credible will be their "argumentation acrobatics" for the defense of protesting Protestants, on state respect for their "independent" peace efforts? Who will take seriously its complaint with respect to the contradiction of a government that "calls for peace in foreign affairs while creating at home an atmosphere of fear and regimentation?" (Hans Tschiche, Protestant Academy, Magdeburg), or its wish to act as the "carrier of the flag of truce between the fronts" (recently retired Mecklenburg Bishop Heinrich Rathke)? In that case government and party will insist even more: "If we relax our control in just this one place, we will have to multiply our powers tomorrow." Maybe the situation will arise again, that was characterized by Albrecht Schoenherr when he was pastor at Brandenburg at the time of the Church "war": "Being a Christian can be expensive. No good thing comes cheap."

In any case, the Church can no longer use Martin Luther to attract, no longer cite the reformer's acknowledgment by the state only because, for a few short months, this state bragged of being the head of the "reformation's mother land and, therefore, the true and genuine executor of the heritage." Nor can it have recourse to Erich Honecker's concession of March 1978, involving recognition of its "historic dimension"--making it out to represent a legal title. Bishops, ministers and laymen will realize again what it means to be a Church in an "ideological diaspora." A bishop such as Gottfried Forck will then ask in vain whether Christians should even be prepared at all to serve in the armed forces"; and the question of his Magdeburg colleague Christoph Demke, phrased in his Luther memorial sermon in Eiseleben's St. Andrews Church, will have been settled once and for all: "Who will protect us from ourselves, from the unlimited phantasms of our fears which mislead us into filling our woods with weapons that can kill us many times over?" At that point the republic of the reformer, the state leaders who filled their Luther quota in the anniversary year, will severely request the Church to exercise "self-discipline" and keep its "house in order" (State Secretary for Church Affairs Klaus Gysi), entirely in the meaning of the "constitutional and understanding relationship between state and Church"--as emphasized with satisfaction by Gerald Goetting in the State Opera.

On the penultimate day of Martin Luther's anniversary year nobody mentioned him in the Founder's Church at the edge of Leipzig's city limit. Enough had been said about him in speeches, sermons, books, movies and television plays. He did not impinge on the Christians who had met together to find themselves: How do I manage, how do I keep going as a Christian? One had a round peace badge on the lapel of his leather jacket. A peace dove surrounded by the words: "No new nuclear rockets!" I asked him whether that was allowed: "I cut this out from the FDJ review JUNGE WELT and stuck it on my jacket." Had he experienced any unpleasant incidents at school due to the badge? "Not really. And when it happens, I simply say where it comes from."

The discussion group I attended and listened to included a young engineer who said he felt ashamed now. When he wanted to pass on to secondary school, he had signed the customer obligation. "I thought only of my career, as so many do." Now he would not do such a thing again. Now, together with others of an equal mind, he is

sending individual peace petitions to Erich Honecker; collective resolutions are considered felonies. And as if he wished to restore coherence to the issues that threatened to disperse in praise of Martin Luther by state and Church in solemn invocations, the pastor reminded this small congregation of brave Christians: "It seems to me we are living above our means,"

Martin Luther--and what now in 1984? "We speak without being heard," young Christians are praying in connection with the "peace decade" and the slogan "to make peace from the strength of the weak." Are they praying in a vacuum? In my discussion group in the Leipzig church, someone asked: "What would likely happen to a Martin Luther if he were alive today in the GDR? They would simply ban him."

11698

CSO: 2300/154

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SIGNIFICANT DECREASE IN WORKER ILLNESS

West German Report

Frankfurt am Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 25 Nov 83 p 10

/Text/ The SED had complained for years that workers were absent far too often due to illness. This year enterprises reported a distinct decrease. East Berlin attributes this mainly to stricter controls by the health services. The Berlin Information Bureau West cited as examples an enterprise clinic in Frankfurt/Oder, where punch cards are consulted daily to trace patients who are frequently sick. These are then presented to a "special medical advisory committee" that meets twice weekly. Moreover, the status of worker illness is once weekly assessed together with the enterprise managers. These measures, it was claimed, had already reduced such absenteeism by 1 percent. Many enterprises also maintain special "sickness status committees" that systematically attempt to lower the incidence of worker illness.

Health Ministry Report

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 115, 30 Sep 83 pp 5-6

/Article by Dr Marlis Mietzelfeldt, Department Chief, Ministry for Health: "Improving Care and Lowering Incidence of Illness Through Combined Effort and Exchange of Experience"/

/Text/ The protection of the health of working people, the further perfection of the complex of preventive measures, medical care and treatment are important concerns of our country's social policy. The extent and quality of all measures involving work safety and health protection are of the utmost importance for people's pleasure in life and labor as well as their efficiency and, consequently, the accomplishment of economic tasks.

Since 1981 and, especially in 1983, we have been able to note in all enterprises and combines a satisfactory development of working time lost due to illness. This is the result of the joint efforts of the health services, the enterprises and labor unions for the improvement of health care for working people and the decrease in the incidence of illness. We are steadily endeavoring to abate still persisting heavy manual labor and hazardous working conditions and to take care that they are already excluded in the process of planning investment and rationalization measures. Socialist rationalization, the speeded-up mechanization and automation of production

is more and more resolutely directed to the diminution of jobs involving health hazards and heavy manual labor.

#### Reducing the Causes of Damage to Health

In some key sectors, for example, we have set up industrial hygiene centers that, from the planning stage on, extensively affect the organization of working and living conditions. On the basis of analyses of the industrial hygiene situation on the job, they recommend measures for reducing (for example) the causes of job-related damage to health, ensuring appropriate industrial medical care, and so on. These centers constantly and closely cooperate with the managements of combines and enterprises.

Industrial medical suitability examinations and control checks according to the latest scientific knowledge are increasingly carried out with respect to working people whose jobs still involve health hazards. By 1985 all of them will be included in this specific kind of clinical care. Already at the present time their number exceeds 1 million. The close and coordinated collaboration between the health services, the enterprises and labor unions must always be to the fore with regard to any preventive measures and medical care, so as to achieve the best possible result in the effort to maintain, promote and--if need be--restore the health and working capacity of the working people. This also provides important prerequisites for the full utilization of the social labor capacity.

Exchanges of experiences are organized with regard to the many activities in all sectors devoted to the decrease in the incidence of worker illness. The health services alone and in conjunction with the enterprises ascertain the experiences of the best and increasingly make them available to all.

#### Effective System of Coordinated Measures

Within the health service as such we are primarily concerned with the ongoing improvement of the internal organization of our work in the enterprises. It will be necessary further to cut diagnostic and appointment delays, ensure optimum cooperation between the various medical specialties and an even more purposeful further education for physicians and other medical cadres, in particular with respect to the assessment of the capacity for work and the performance potential of the working people. The exchanges of experiences specially emphasize the concrete kinds of cooperation between enterprise, labor union and health services. We cannot be satisfied with merely striving for many individual actions; instead it is imperative for a system of coordinated measures to be constantly effective.

In the Berlin television electronics plant, for example, representatives of the enterprise clinic, the enterprise labor union leadership organization and the enterprise management regularly and frequently meet to ascertain and evaluate the incidence of worker illness and promptly decide on the necessary measures. Together they ensure the best possible care for their sick colleagues. New patients enjoy priority with regard to a quick diagnosis by way of laboratory tests, ECG's and radiology. Office hours for therapeutic services such as physiotherapy are so organized that patients off work may be promptly treated, while other--working--patients can call on these services outside their working hours. The enterprise

clinic participates in the performance comparison of the eight Berlin enterprise clinics in order to pass on its own experiences and, at the same time, utilize the perceptions of the others regarding the further improvement of the health protection of workers in its enterprise and the consequente effect on the incidence of worker illness.

#### Enterprise Clinic Experiences

Frankfurt (Oder) NEUER TAG in German 10 Nov 83 p 8

/Article by party secretary and senior nursing officer Alice Semkat: "Incidence of Absence due to Illness was Reduced"/

/Text/ Our collective at the enterprise clinic of the semiconductor plant has developed very satisfactorily indeed in recent years, because the party leadership organization, enterprise labor union leadership organization and state management all work together. Our comrades' commitment has deepened. That was also the starting point for our reporting and election meeting.

Our political work with the masses emphasizes our contribution to lowering the incidence of absence due to illness in the entire enterprise collective. With the help of punched cards we are daily tracing the patients who are frequently sick, and they are then presented to the special medical advisory committee that meets twice weekly. And once a week the status of absence due to illness is assessed with the responsible enterprise managers.

All this has been very useful. We estimate that absence due to illness has been reduced by 1 percent in our enterprise since we initiated these extensive measures.

That is one aspect. At the same time we start from the assumption that prevention is better than cure. We are therefore devoting a great deal of attention to preventive measures. At this time we are daily administering influenza vaccine in our clinic. Unfortunately the workers of our semiconductor plant are not very willing to have themselves immunized. And since the prophet is not coming to the mountain, we take our vaccine to the collectives and utilize meetings and functions in the plant to save the working people from having to come to the clinic.

We are constantly considering how to improve our health propaganda so as to remove old objections in the interest of maintaining the health of our working people.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MOTIVES FOR ECONOMIC CRIMES STUDIED

East Berlin NEUE JUSTIZ in German No 11, Nov 83 pp 454-455

/Article by Dr Rolf Mueller, Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence, Section for Criminal, Civil, Labor and Agricultural Law: "Differentiated Evaluation of Motives for Crimes Against Property"/

/Text/ A crucial factor in dealing with and preventing crimes against socialist property is the strict realization of the principle of the individualization of criminal responsibility and punishment, consonant with the actual individual crime and the personality of the criminal.<sup>1</sup> The differentiated evaluation of the criminal's personality looms large in the apportionment and execution of the penalty, especially from the aspects of the gradation of the offence and the educational-preventative purpose of the punishment.

The Twelfth Plenum (June 1979) of the Supreme Court was devoted to the courts' tasks relating to the protection of socialist property.<sup>2</sup> In connection with the call for continuing to improve the quality of the investigation and ascertainment of the facts of the matter and the criminal's personality, the Supreme Court emphasized the necessity for paying more attention to the orientation provided in No 2.2.1 of the Supreme Court Presidium's report of 28 March 1973 on problems of criminal guilt.<sup>3</sup> This assigns prime importance to attitudes and motivation when grading the offense, and the principle applies according to which "guilt weighs all the more heavily, the more negative the motivation that determined the criminal's decision to proceed."

As subjective objectives for individual action, the motives of crimes help decide the nature of the criminal's relations to his crime in a differentiated manner, because<sup>4</sup> they are largely determined by the customary behavioral states of his personality. In the case of crimes against property, we must consider aggravating "motives that embody the particularly blatant coveting of advantages, such as the commission of the crime by reason of avarice or exaggerated hankering after wealth, the unscrupulous acquisition...of socialist property to obtain luxury objects or expensive consumer items, live an extravagant life or permit (the criminal) to maintain an immoral lifestyle."<sup>5</sup>

In the case of serious crimes against socialist property we may surely assume that motives of such a distinctly selfish nature are frequently present; nevertheless the courts are bound in every particular instance to examine the actual motivational background of the crime.

## On Determining the Motives of the Crime

In the theoretical approach to the problem of motivation we note a trend toward sometimes more or less absolute principles. This is demonstrated in the undifferentiated assignment of the enrichment motivation to crimes against property.

This approach is based on theoretical perceptions of crime-specific antisocial orientations of the criminals and, especially, of the respective "typical" motivations. According to the concept of the specific tendency of the criminal,<sup>6</sup> the social quality of his personality relevant to the criminal code is mainly determined along the lines of the direction of attack he himself has chosen. It is therefore suggested that we should, beyond the crime against property, primarily recognize a criminal whose personality features negative relations to other people's property. This is linked with the assumption that serious crimes are based on crime-specific and destructive attitudes and motives to the respective expressed extent, while motives of another sort (in other words not discernible as directly relevant to the crime) are deemed "atypical."<sup>7</sup>

While this approach makes it possible to describe some significant connections in the respective crime-criminal relations, it involves the danger of a priori deciding about the motives by the social nature and the predominating directions of the attack and the modus operandi of the crime. This may well unduly narrow the regard<sup>8</sup> for the real nature of the motives within the scope of actual crime determination.

I think we need to generally assume that the motives of crimes against property display very different tendencies and, viewed overall, have a predominately "socially accented" nature. The criminals are primarily interested in changing their status and role in the real social relations they enter. That applies even to those who act from motives of so-called personal enrichment. In them we may often discern a strong self-assertive component in the subjective objectives.

Moreover, the direct subjective motivation for attacking other people's property--with the intention of appropriating it--may also arise from the wish to own particular items, enjoy them personally and entirely by oneself. That happens in particular in the case of crimes arising from self-absorbed avarice (psychopathologically conspicuous) or from alcoholism. In such criminal acts the criminal is less motivated by social claims than by behavioral automatisms. On the other hand such acts occur relatively rarely.

In view of their broad range, it would be as well to forget the use of ambiguous concepts when ascertaining motives, and instead exactly describe the actual motivational happening.<sup>9</sup>

## Distinction of Motives

It appears useful so to define prominent motivational trends in crimes against socialist property, that they may help a differentiated approach to crime and the criminal. In my opinion they might be distinguished and outlined as follows:

Prestige motivation:

Among offenders who strive to distinguish themselves from other people by the ownership of various things and, in their walk of life to help decide or co-decide the "standard" of, for instance, fashionable clothing, luxurious domestic furnishings, and so on.

Compensation motivation:

Among offenders who wish to resolve some social conflicts by means of illegally obtained money or things.

Consumption motivation:

Among criminals who acquire money or things (food, replacement parts and other materials) in order to personally consume or use them.

Avarice motivation:

Among criminals who accumulate things or money "just to have them" (to enjoy them, achieve material security for future years, and so on).

Compulsive motivation:

Among psychologically abnormal criminals who commit their crimes in part due to a compulsive (that is uncontrollable) urge--examples are alcoholics, compulsive collectors, compulsive gamblers, and so on, but also people with an abnormal urge to assert their importance.

Altruistic motivation:

Offenders whose actions are at least temporarily motivated by the desire to produce benefits for others (such as the brigade or the family).

Depending on their strength, these various motives may have more or less antisocial effects. Their social relativity must be considered in any criminological and judicial assessment. As we know, knowledge of the motive alone, isolated from its relation to the environment and the personality, provides only limited information about the connection between motive-causes-guilt. I hold it particularly important for the proper assignment of the motive in the scope of the ascertainment of causes and responsibility to relate it to the criminal's earlier social attitude so as to obtain clues about the extent of the "personality immanence" of the motive and, therefore, its exact weight in the determination of guilt.

Results of a Motivation Analysis of Serious Crimes Against Property

The results of a motivation analysis of serious crimes against socialist property, extending to several years, showed that the criminal acts of the offenders tried in the court procedures examined were most often determined by a prestige motivation, in other words the desire to acquire items of socialist property in order to boast about them and satisfy exaggerated needs for social consequence. Specially characteristic, moreover, was the combined presence of various motivational qualities--sometimes also consecutively (in the period of time involved in the criminal acts--change in motivation).

The criminals acting from prestige motives often displayed a contradictory behavioral image. While they were generally distinguished by good work in their jobs, they tended to be more or less withdrawn with regard to the life of the collective. There were indications, especially, that egocentric objectives and personality traits of a culturally and mentally unambitious life were dominant in the organization of their social relations in "private life." The often committed their crimes in the exercise of their professional work, sometimes consciously and with a good deal of planning so as to organize the most favorable conditions for carrying out the crimes. The professional ambition of these offenders was largely governed by the wish to satisfy personal demands and needs with the least possible effort and at the expense of others. Definitely individualistic tendencies dominated in their subjective relation to socialist property. Moreover, these criminals repeatedly displayed significant conflict situations resulting from the inadequate subjective valuation of objective data. Noted, in particular, were qualification and performance claims that certainly had to be considered exaggerated in relation to the respective individual's abilities and performance prerequisites. The criminals consciously chose to commit crimes to ensure for themselves specific socially relevant benefits by the material and financial means obtained.

In some instances other motives also appeared, in addition to the prestige motive; the most common was avarice. Among criminals who are urged to the commission of the crime by exaggerated prestige demands as well as by avarice, the social threat of their acts showed up in specially serious damage. Apparently, though, avarice is the predominant motive force only in exceptional circumstances.

Both the prestige and the avarice motive have in common a particularly well defined and subjectively consciously reflected intention of enrichment; they are the direct subject determining factors of the "enrichment crimes proper." While the acquisition of money or things owned by others is the main means to the end or indeed the direct objective when non-social prestige claims and avarice are involved, such acquisitions are of subordinate importance with regard to the remaining motives.

Some criminals (mainly women) committed their crimes evidently in the expectation to be able thereby to minimize existing social conflicts. Other reasons (mainly of prestige) were also involved among the majority of these offenders whose behavioral decisions were based on compensation motives. The social conflicts mentioned related primarily to poor marital or family relations. The women involved were apparently more interested in resolving these conflicts than were their spouses. Frequently there was the subsidiary effort to maintain the "standard of living" and "social statis" achieved with the spouse. Sometimes the initiative for the crimes came from the partner; the women participated to secure "marital peace" by conforming. Sometimes the compensation motive also resulted from the criminal's fear that the partner was increasingly distancing him(her)self. The offender then tried to bolster his/her attraction by means of the money obtained by the crime (for example the purchase of fashionable clothing).

Some of the serious crimes to the detriment of socialist property also displayed consumption motives, in a few cases in conjunction with compensation and prestige motives.

The offenders here were primarily interested in obtaining the means to satisfy specific topical needs rather than "enrich" themselves. Often they confronted the problem of achieving the highest possible material living standard with the limited means at their disposal. It was quite obvious in some cases that the crimes initially committed from consumption motives--especially in connection with increasingly habitual and repeated criminal acts--were increasingly dominated by exaggerated claims to prestige in the criminogenous motivation processes.

Lastly I must point out that occasionally offenders are involved in the commission of serious crimes against socialist property though--at least initially--not at all motivated in any specific manner to commit crimes. Common features of these offenders and their actions are the following:

- Passive participation in criminal acts initiated and planned by others;
- The commission of criminal acts as "attacks from the inside." These were so arranged as to fit smoothly in the normal course of work;
- The offenders were obviously not aware initially that they were participating in crimes. In these cases lack of legal awareness (especially at the level of legal knowledge) turned out to favor involvement.

Evident with respect to the "inadequately" motivated (or even "motiveless") crimes generally--by comparison to the crimes described earlier--was an excessively strong crime determining influence exerted by the objective circumstances in the situation of the act.

In my opinion the data here briefly described lend themselves to support a differentiated approach to the investigation of the objective and subjective circumstances of a serious crime against socialist property, especially the personality of the criminal. By describing some of the tendencies possible with regard to criminal motivation, they may serve primarily as orientation aids in the evaluation of the motives and the assessment of culpability based upon it.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. On questions of the efficacy of punishment and its conditions see especially E. Buchholz/U. Daehn/H. Weber, "Strafrechtliche Verantwortlichkeit und Strafe" /Criminal Responsibility and Punishment/, Berlin 1982, pp 117ff.
2. See H. Kell/S. Wittenbeck, "To Raise the Social Efficacy of the Administration of Justice for the Protection of Socialist Property!" NEUE JUSTIZ 1979, No 7, p 297.
3. "Report by the Supreme Court Presidium on Problems of Criminal Guilt, of 18 March 1973" (NEUE JUSTIZ supplement No 3/1973 to ssie No 9, pp 4f).
4. See "Lehrbuch Strafrecht, Allgemeiner Teil" /Criminal Justice Manual, General Section/, Berlin 1978, pp 280f.

5. Supreme Court Report of 28 March 1973, as before, p 4.
6. See A.B. Sakharov, "Personality and Typology of Criminals," SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA ZAKONNOST 1973, No 3, pp 23ff.
7. G. Herzog, for example, explained: "However qualitatively different the force of the motives for property crimes, their common feature is the acquisition of other people's property values without appropriate equivalence, without appropriate counter performance... If a theft is carried out so that the thief may boast of the success of his crime, this motive is not typical for property crime, even if the proportion of this motive was relatively great. It does not decide the basic nature of the motivation for a crime against property and, consequently, not the class of these motives either." (See G. Herzog, "The Motivation Process in Crimes Against Property and Possibilities of Affecting it by Penal and Educational Measures," (dissertation), Berlin 1969, p 171.)
8. Not yet adequately answered is the question whether one and the same kind of crime is committed by persons who are characterized by common qualities (see V.Y. Sharikov, "The Criminological Significance of the Typology of the Personality," SOVETSKOYE GOSUDARSTVO I PRAVO 1978, No 8, pp 131ff). On the other hand there are more and more indications that property offenders tend not to display psychological specifics of an independent criminological group (see E. Littmann/J. Ott, "On the Evidentiary Value of Psychodiagnostic Procedures from the Aspects of Forensic Expertise. Study and Resocialization of Young Offenders," in H. Szewczyk, "Der Fehlentwickelte Jugendliche und Seine Kriminalitaet. Medizinisch-Juristische Grenzfragen" /The Maladjusted Juvenile and his Criminality, Medico-Legal Borderline Issues/, Vol 15, Jena 1982, p 179).
9. See H.-J. Gollnick, "Methodische Probleme der Motivfeststellung in Ermittlungsverfahren bei Eigentumsdelikten" /Methodological Problems of Motive Ascertainment in Investigations of Crimes Against Property/, Dissertation (A), Berlin 1970, pp 44ff.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

MEASURES TO IDENTIFY, ENCOURAGE GIFTED CHILDREN

West German Report

West Berlin IWE TAGESDIENST in German No 171, 22 Nov 83 p 1

/Text/ Remarks by several experts intimate that the encouragement of gifted children is currently being reviewed in the GDR. It is to be improved especially in the field of science and technology to help accomplish future tasks. Prof Dr Guenther Hellfeldt of Rostock University explained that it is a prime prerequisite to interpret it as an "exceptionally important task," and that pedagogues, in particular, must understand this. In his view children ought "to be given sufficient scope at the earliest possible age, so that they should be able to be creatively active in their own way." The greatest "gifts" lead to nothing unless they are challenged and encouraged at an early stage. In this context Professor Hellfeldt warned against underestimating the incidence of above average gifted students so as not to straightaway erect barriers to the encouragement of gifted children. In the course of a study, the classroom teachers polled described 19 percent of their students as above average, principals and their deputies cited 14 percent, and the students of the 9 grades 9 percent of their comrades. The Rostock scholar actually suspects that as many as 25 percent of all students are either above average or might develop along such lines.

An analysis prepared by scholars at Rostock University in this connection showed that the sectors technology and natural sciences do not yet correspond to the demands of scientific-technological progress in the life of the schools and the encouragement of gifted children. Very few children gifted for the natural sciences and technology were identified by their teachers. In the opinion of the scholars, the encouragement of gifted students at school must be much more emphasized with respect to both quantity and quality.

Focus on Science, Technology

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German No 11, Nov 83 pp 52-54

/Article by Dr Guenther Hellfeldt, Director, Pedagogics and Psychology Division, Wilhelm Pieck University, Rostock: "Engouraging the Gifted: Growth Factor--Education"/

/Text/ Encouragement for the gifted is not a new pedagogic task in our republic. It has long been given a legal foundation and was successfully practiced. Reinforced by great social distinction, it has had extraordinarily good results, especially in the field of sports.

Ought we not now to deal with the encouragement of gifted children at an entirely higher level? Tremendous scientific developments, enormous technical progress, the extensive use of modern communication techniques for production and management tasks --all this requires a high standard of education, demonstrably an important means for the realization of man as a free and all-round developed personality and, at the same time, a significant growth factor in the scientific-technological revolution. Not least by means of the encouragement of the gifted. As this is the case, teachers and educators as well as the students themselves and their parents must realize that encouragement for the gifted is an extremely important concern.

What are gifts? How do they come about? Which ones occur most often? How can we quantitatively measure or qualitatively appraise them? Talent is a complex personality trait, an individual combination of performance prerequisites. Talent makes it possible in a more or less broad field of activities to achieve performances at a relatively high standard. Also involved in the generation of a talent are knowledge and basic skills, attitudes (especially curiosity), character qualities (such as diligence, persistence and ambition) and emotional qualities (for example pleasure in creative effort). For that reason the development of ability must necessarily be linked to ideological and character training and self-discipline in the encouragement of the gifted.

#### Providing Early Scope for Creative Effort

Almost all talents depend on intelligence; to put it bluntly--on the ability to think. Intelligence and talent certainly have a genetic element. It is not possible, though, at the present level of research to exactly ascertain the share of hereditary factors. Basically we assume that the mental abilities of children and adolescents are largely developed by education and training at school and in the parental home. However, the process starts long before that. Children must be allowed adequate scope at the earliest possible age, so that they may be able to act creatively in their own childish way. The best predisposition is easily nipped in the bud unless it is challenged and encouraged at an early stage.

We might exaggerate the situation by saying that grown children are made gifted. Of course this does not happen in the absence of specific and individually varying personality features. In some fields anatomic-physiological prerequisites also are needed, such as body structure, muscular structure, spread of the hands, dexterity, rhythmic feeling, and so on.

What talents are most widespread? The orientations of talent are many and varied. Many of us could immediately think of some dozens of special talents that have come to the fore in connection with the challenges of the scientific-technological revolution. Examples relate to the use of microelectronics, computer or robot technology. In our opinion four basic types of talent must be considered:

1. Multiple-creative gifts; 2. linguistic-logical and factual-logical gifts;
3. combination gifts; 4. reproductive gifts.

#### To Encourage the Exceptional but Neglect Nothing

The alignment of intellectual or intellectual-manual actions proceeds on this basis and in connection with these basic talents. Presumably this happens initially by a

situation and task-related predilection for specific activities. The young person scores successes and his interests begin to firm. Students at secondary schools therefore tend to display specific gifts: Linguistic, mathematical, technical, organizational, craft-manual, practical-pedagogic, sporting, musical, literary and poetical as well as representational-artistic. Of course some of these gifts may be further subdivided (for example technical talents with regard to technical-design, technical-combinational and technical-reproductive orientations). The borderlines are often quite fluid. Are there any untalented students? Almost all have some kind of a gift. From the social aspect and in connection with the scientific-technological revolution we are admittedly most interested in those who are important for the advance of science and technology and, at the same time, display above average standards. (This does not mean that we may neglect other talents. Such a view would contradict the genuinely humanist nature of socialism.)

In 1981/1982 a Rostock study group carried on an empirical study in 34 10-grade secondary schools in 4 GDR districts. Classroom teachers of these schools described 19 percent of students as above average, principals and their deputies cited 14 percent and the students in 9 classes 9 percent. Related to the republic as a whole this means that above average students of all kinds account for 16-25 percent of the student body.

#### How Do We Identify Above Average Gifted Children?

We assume that about 25 percent of all students are above average or may develop that way. Of course this assumption requires critical and analytical examination. Nevertheless we want to emphasize the necessity for not underestimating the incidence of above average gifted students so as not to straightaway erect barriers to the encouragement of the gifted in our schools.

Above average gifted students are identified by general (relatively speaking) excellence and by the way they usually manage to get there. Many students, for example, cope very easily with school tasks and do so in almost all disciplines. Other students effortlessly handle abstractions, terms, definitions and logical structures. Others again have a good deal of imagination and display outstanding pictorial skills. Yet others have an aptitude for thinking in algorithms, comfortably master motor processes and execute practiced operational sequences surely and quickly. All of these should be specially encouraged.

Any talent is based on a general ability to learn and work. Beyond the--of course dominating--intelligence needed, it includes various general abilities that the different orientations of their gifts may require to a varied extent but that must all be available. They are the general willingness to study, motivation to study and work, perception, openness to new ideas and a latent willingness to relearn, a capacity for observation and concentration, a broad based capacity for experimentation, the ability to cooperate and exercise self-control. If this general ability to learn and work is trained as well as possible at school and in the polytechnically oriented productive work of the students in the enterprise, this definitely represents a crucial contribution to the encouragement of the gifted. The encouragement of talents, therefore, must be primarily considered a pedagogic task.

## Study Reveals Current Deficiencies

East Berlin JUNGE GENERATION in German No 11, Nov 83 pp 54-55

/Article by science department chief Dr Horst Drewelow, Pedagogics and Psychology Division, Wilhelm Pieck University, Rostock: "Encouraging the Gifted: Results, Problems and Consequences of a Study"/

/Text/ If we assume that every talent represents a unique and unmistakeable--in other words individual--combination of performance prerequisites, it follows that the encouragement of the gifted is bound to involve individual attention to the child and adolescent. Attention to the individual student, worker, apprentice or soldier, the shaping of his individuality as a full member of the collective, are basic features of communist education.

What is it that makes just these boys and girls so valuable to the collective? What are his/her strengths? How do we succeed in using their talents for the development of their personalities as a whole? What is needed to bring into play his/her gifts in the course of collective education?

The kind of educational effort indicated by these questions must prevail if we wish to achieve a better quality of pedagogical work. These principles should govern the work of every teacher, Pioneer leader, FDJ functionary.

### Encouragement for the Gifted Belongs with Daily Educational Efforts

In the past and, to some extent even now, individual work with students has tended almost entirely to the encouragement of the backward. However important this aspect of pedagogy will remain in future also, it represents a definitely one-sided approach. It is imperative to discover, emphasize and reinforce the gifts of every young person. We consider the encouragement of gifts a fundamental element of daily education, not an extra task for the pedagogue or youth functionary.

The dialectical nature of the pedagogical process requires us to interpret and organize encouragement for the gifted as the unity of

- The development of abilities and ideological education,
- The early identification and determined encouragement of talents,
- Individual encouragement and collective education,
- Encouragement at school and outside it, including the involvement of social educational forces,
- Attention to all kinds of talents and special encouragement for scientific-technological gifts.

Based on these fundamental perceptions on the encouragement of the gifted in the socialist school, we will introduce some results of a practical analysis (see Professor Hellfeldt's contribution). Teachers, fellow students and auditing principals

reported these characteristic features of gifted students in polytechnic secondary schools: They actively cooperate in the instruction at all times, are conscientious, disciplined and helpful, demonstrate a high standard of demands, zeal for work, endurance, persistence and independence. Fellow students from the nine grades particularly emphasize the good showing (reports) of the above average gifted. The problems involving these students are usually described as lack of adjustment to the collective, arrogance and a generally weak character. The positive performance and behavioral qualities cited are certain very important for the development of the gifted and must be resolutely encouraged. On the other hand, is not this image much affected by the concept of the "ideal" student? The above characterizations of the gifted student certainly miss all those features that also distinguish the innovator in production, science and technology: Readiness to accept risks, logical and critical thinking, exceptional ideas, the combative, critical and challenging discussion partner who stubbornly defends his point of view and surprise us with novel thoughts.

#### Proving Their Worth in Performance Comparisons and Innovator Work

In the course of their work, pedagogues note that there are many athletic and cultural-artistic talents. At school gifts are identifiable by the teacher if students have sufficient extracurricular opportunities to show what they can do, for example in sports and cultural-artistic fields. On the other hand, the results of the analysis of 34 secondary schools show that the field of technology and natural sciences does not yet respond to the demands of scientific-technological progress in the life of the school and the encouragement of gifted students. Teachers noted very few scientific-technological talents among their students, and almost no students were credited with a talent for crafts, though more than two thirds of all students will enter skilled worker occupations with technical-crafts-natural science relevance.

Pedagogues' proposals for the improvement of the talent encouraging effects of extracurricular activities are concerned with

- Longer range planning and continuity of work as well as the active involvement of the youth and children's organization in the organization of life at school;
- A system of extracurricular activities at rising levels;
- Various opportunities for demonstrating talents and for performance comparisons;
- Sensible cooperation with other schools, enterprises and facilities as well as the involvement of qualified specialists in the encouragement of the gifted;
- The involvement of students in innovator projects and tasks arising from the plans science and technology.

#### Encouragement of the Gifted Calls on All Social Forces

According to the results of the analysis, the interests of students are not oriented to one field exclusively. Most students in the 9 grades list 3 and 4 fields of interest, 20 percent mention 5 or more. Many students consider the schools' and

extracurricular offers and opportunities for involvement inadequate. Older students manage to follow their interests much more frequently outside the school (with friends, on their own or in the family) than in organized forms of study groups, circles or FDJ groups.

Of course we would not want to concentrate at the schools any and all realizations of interests and encouragement for the gifted. On the other hand, life at school--in the organization of which FDJ members and Pioneers are intimately involved--must be improved in terms of quantity and, above all, quality, so that challenging needs will arise among all students, and they may be able to test their strength in the collective. The studies showed the great potential of the polytechnic secondary school for providing the bases of interest and the encouragement of the gifted. At the same time we did see very clearly that the school cannot possibly carry out all the work involved in encouraging talents. Let us therefore once more emphasize the orientation provided by the Tenth SED Congress: The encouragement of the gifted calls on all social forces.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

DRIVE TO BROADEN PREVENTIVE MEDICINE

Health Minister on Tasks

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 137, 24 Nov 83 p 2

/Article by Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, Minister for Health: "Prevention Is a Matter of Social Concern"/

/Text/ Ever since the establishment of our worker-and-peasant state, preventive health care has been considered a basic principle of socialism, and the greatest attention has been devoted to it. Our successes in this field have been acknowledged worldwide and reinforce our confidence in further pursuing this approach, emphasizing it even more--in fact more consistently exploiting the benefits of socialism.

Thanks to large-scale vaccination--last year our children and youths received 2.8 million doses of vaccine--we were able to either completely eradicate or significantly diminish the classic infectious diseases. Works physicians look after 70 percent of all working people. Special attention is given those who still need to work in jobs that present health hazards; they are regularly and routinely examined. The enterprise health system carries out more than 1 million preventive examinations of working people annually. A final example: 70 percent of all women between the ages of 25 and 60 are receiving routine gynecological-cytological examinations every 2 years for the early ascertainment of cervical cancer.

In general the efforts of the health and social welfare system have had a beneficial effect on the health of the population. Median life expectancy increased, infant and maternal mortality declined last year to 11.5 per 1,000 live births and 1.4 per 10,000 births respectively. The numbers of new job-related sicknesses diminished from 11m000 in 1970 to 8,500 last year, their seriousness declined, and even accidents at work dropped off.

All these successes reflect achievements of the health care system and also the efforts made in districts, kreises and cities, in combines, enterprises and other facilities for organizing working and living conditions appropriate to the maintenance of good health.

## To Win Over all Citizens for a Healthy Lifestyle

The socialist society is the first in the history of mankind to set itself the task of winning over all citizens to a healthy lifestyle, because it provides the proper conditions, because scientific-technological advances are purposefully translated into economic and social progress for the benefit of the people.

For increasingly large population groups in capitalism, life is characterized by unemployment, greater insecurity and fears, reductions in social services, hunger, poverty, lack of housing. This is accompanied by aggression and cruelty as well as the brutalization of human relations and child abuse. The lack of codetermination, social degradation, and so on, prevent the establishment of a healthy lifestyle for the majority of men.

Socialism generates the willingness and ability of citizens to lead a healthy life because it is the aim of the working class and its party to create a social order "where the free development of everyone is the condition for the free development of all," to cite the Communist Party Manifesto.

The construction of socialism in the GDR provided the objective prerequisites for the protection of the life and health of the public--including also the higher standard of education--extended the opportunities for each citizen positively to influence his health and capacity, and to assume responsibility for health care in the family, the work collective and the neighborhood.

The conscious co-organization of health and performance promoting working conditions offers a great deal of scope. This includes the planned reduction of health hazards. Individual safety consciousness and the corresponding behavior are crucial factors. Very valuable also are leisure activities in the shape of physical and mental-cultural occupations, good nutrition and the organization of interpersonal relations characterized by mutual respect and support, comradely cooperation and aid, solidarity and reciprocal consideration.

## Far Reaching Tasks in the Health Care System

The increased emphasis on prevention results in far reaching tasks for the health care system; they are closely linked with the quality of medical care. The main trends we foresee are the further perfection of health care for pregnant women, mothers, children and youths, the early diagnosis of frequently occurring diseases, the perfection of health care for the working people in their enterprises, including the ongoing reduction of job-related illnesses and the even more comprehensive protection of the public against infections. Also included in prevention are all hygienic measures in their direct effects on working and living conditions and the recruitment and ability of citizens for leading a healthy life.

Physicians specializing in general medicine, especially family physicians, have enormous opportunities for preventive care. They know the circumstances of their patients' lives and are therefore able to motivate them to a lifestyle helpful to their health. In cooperation with municipal nurses, welfare workers, the local people's representations and other social forces they assist the organization of health promoting working and living conditions. Expectations in this respect are high also with regard to enterprise physicians who work closely with enterprise managements and labor unions.

The increased capacity of the socialist health care system and medical science allow and challenge us even more emphatically to pursue prevention as a basic principle specific to socialism.

### Prenatal Care Centers

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German No 129, 4 Nov 83 pp 5-6

/Article by Dr Helga Rayner, Chief, Department for Mothers and Children, GDR Ministry for Health; Dr Edith Ockel, Medical Officer, GDR Ministry for Health: "Security for Mother and Child"/

/Text/ Each year 240,000 children are born in the GDR. They as well as pregnant women enjoy special attention. That is an everyday matter of course in our socialist state, just as the fact that no mother-to-be here needs to prove her ability to pay the hospital before admission--unlike the situation in many capitalist countries.

Important criteria for the quality of medical care for mother and child are infant and maternal mortality. This has been reduced steadily as the result and consequence of obstetric-clinical measures immediately before, during and after parturition as well as the careful treatment of the newborn. Related to births in 1982 and by comparison with 1949, 16,000 infants and almost 50 mothers were able to survive, because infant mortality was reduced from 78.3 per 1,000 live births to 11.4, maternal mortality from 20 women per 10,000 births to 1.24.

#### Oriented to Prevention

The Tenth SED Congress set challenging targets for the health care of pregnant women, mothers and children through 1985, "to further reduce infant mortality to 10-11 per 1,000 live births and maternal mortality to less than 1.5 in 10,000 births, to prevent complications in pregnancy, during and after parturition and promote the healthy growth of infants and children--both in children's facilities and in the family." When this task was decided upon in spring 1981, infant mortality still amounted to 12.3 per 1,000 live births and maternal mortality to more than 1.5 per 10,000 births.

We consider the improvement of care for pregnant women and the steadily growing standard of prenatal centers one of the reasons for the successes achieved in recent years.

Women receive medical care in almost 1,000 such centers. They can also obtain advice on all kinds of health, social and legal questions. Ninety percent of all mothers-to-be have themselves medically examined by the 16th week of pregnancy, because they know that the periods at the beginning of pregnancy and a few weeks before the birth are particularly important for the health of the child. About half of all pregnant women visit their health center about 10 times. If there is any suspicion of divergence from the normal course of the pregnancy, modern diagnostic procedures such as ultrasound and clinical examinations help in good time to decide on further care and treatment.

Pregnant women and young mothers and fathers prepare themselves for infant care in more than 4,000 instruction courses for parents. These courses, backed by many DFD /Democratic Women's League of Germany/ advisory centers, enjoy great popularity. Still, in many locations reserves may still be developed by the cooperation of local organs, physicians, midwives, welfare workers and the DFD. That also applies to courses for pregnant women in the field of psychological preparation. The focus here is on exercise.

If there is any danger to pregnant women or the child in connection with the birth, the women are admitted to hospitals early, in particular to gynecological clinics that specialize in complicated births and intensive care for the woman and the new-born.

#### Help Pregnant Women to a Healthy Lifestyle

The GDR health care system has chosen as its goal for the 1980's with regard to care for pregnant women the lowering, in particular, of the incidence of premature births and efforts for the widest possible prevention of damaging influences in pregnancy. That primarily involves the healthy lifestyle of the woman. The people caring for pregnant women should, for example, explain to them the damaging effects of smoking and alcohol on the healthy development of the fetus. They should also advise them about proper nutrition and clothing.

After discharge from the maternity clinic, the almost 10,000 postnatal care centers take over the constant supervision of the children until they are 3 years old, with the aim of keeping them healthy, promoting their physical and mental development and advising the parents.

Almost 90 percent of infants are cared for and medically examined in the postnatal care centers during the first 4 weeks of their lives. Welfare workers see the majority of the newborn at home in the first 7 days from the mother's discharge, with a view--especially--to help young parents. The preventive examinations of girls and boys in their first 3 years are based on a standard examination program. Specialists in pediatry and general medicine watch over the health of the infants and vaccinate them in accordance with the mandatory calendar against infections diseases such as whooping cough, diphtheria, tetanus, polyomyelitis and measles.

Special care is extended to large families and single mothers and fathers. The majority of girls and boys are cared for in the creche after the first year of life. In cooperation with the educators, physicians and welfare workers are called upon to help the parents to gear care, nutrition and daily life to the conditions at the creche so as to make it easier for the toddlers to get used to the new environment.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

CONGRESS OF GRAPHIC ARTISTS CONVENES, GOALS STATED

Ceremonies, Participants Noted

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 83 p 1

[Article datelined Berlin: "Active Contribution to Cooperative Structuring of Socialist Society"]

[Text] Since Tuesday more than 400 delegates and numerous guests have been discussing their contribution to the consolidation of peace and to the strengthening of socialism at the Ninth Congress of the GDR Graphic Artists Association. At the start of the three-day forum in the People's Chamber assembly rooms, they warmly greeted the members and candidates of the SED Central Committee Politburo Prof. Kurt Hager, Konrad Naumann and Egon Kranz. The congress responded with prolonged applause to the SED Central Committee message of greetings signed by Central Committee General Secretary Erich Honecker. It was read by the association's first secretary, Dr. Horst Kolodziej, who had opened the congress and had welcomed representatives from 19 foreign artist organizations and institutions to the deliberations.

Association President Prof. Willi Sitte in his speech combined the balance sheet of the political and artistic work performed since the Eighth Congress with thoughts on the solution of present and future tasks. Fifteen speakers took the floor in the discussion of the first day of deliberations. Meritorious artist personalities were appointed honorary members of the association's central executive and audit commission.

SED Central Committee members Ursula Ragnitz, head of the Central Committee cultural department, and Dr. Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, minister for culture, as well as other representatives of social life, including representatives of the parties and mass organizations united in the National Front and of the artist associations were also welcomed as congress guests.

The congress honored by one minute of silence the 224 association members who had died since the Eighth Congress.

#### Honoring Meritorious Personalities

Applause and approval met the announcement that in appreciation of their artistic work and of their merits for the development of the association, Prof. Fritz Cremer, Prof. Klaus Wittkugel, Prof. Arno Mohr, and Prof. Herbert Sandberg were appointed honorary members of the Central Executive Board. The painter Oskar Erich Stephan and the sculptor Ruthild Hahne were made honorary members of the Central Audit Commission.

In his lecture, Prof. Willi Sitte emphasized that the congress is taking place at a time when people all over the world in word and deed are fighting against the great danger of the destruction of the world through the disastrous activity of the most reactionary forces of imperialism. The association president raised the question what art can do in the face of the threat and stated that art is able to make people more aware, more alert, more vigilant, more perceptive, and more seeing. "If art is to be a weapon in the struggles of our time, it must be good art, for only quality works can be socially effective because only they can perceptively have an impressive, credible and lasting effect on emotions, feelings, thoughts."

According to the speaker, a public appreciative and interested in art "for which many envy us" has developed in the GDR. This close relationship of art and people, this new quality of art appreciation, is possible only in socialism. "Its basis is the farsighted and consistent cultural and educational policy conducted by the party of the working class."

The president of the artists association underscored that in the spiritual struggle of our time, works of art are needed that strengthen the viewer in the conviction "that we are on the side of the victors, on the side of historical progress and that there must be success not only in preventing a nuclear world catastrophe but also in creating humane conditions for all on this planet."

Willi Sitte emphasized: "The center of our art remains socialist-realist art work in which the individual artist, starting from his individuality, takes a thorough look at reality." In view of the threat to life originating from the nuclear overarmament and the confrontation course of the Reagan government, the public needs works that warn, rouse, and make aware of dangers and contradictions.

### Works That Admonish and Provide Strength

Also needed are pictures and graphic and plastic art that meet the need for harmony and balance, that make it clear what makes life worth living and defending, that provide courage and strength. At a time of the hardest class struggles, when the very existence is at stake, the association members want to "be artists, fighters, and voices on the side of the just, on the side of the future."

During the afternoon session, chaired by Prof. Bernhard Heisig and Prof. Dr. Karl Max Kober, the delegates were informed of messages of greetings received by the Congress from parties and mass organizations.

In the discussion during the first day of the Congress, the engagement and the responsibility of the association members in the struggle for peace and socialism were emphasized. The following participated in the creative exchange of opinions: The commercial artist Prof. Rudolf Gruettner, the painter and graphic artist Heidrun Hegewald, the graphic artist Prof. Herbert Sandberg, the art scholar Prof. Dr. Peter Feist, the painters and graphic artists Prof. Werner Tuebke, Kurt-Hermann Kuehn, Guenther Rechn, the Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, the graphic artist Sigrid Noack, Magdeburg's city architect Klaus-Peter Kirsch, the metal designer Prof. Irmtraud Ohme, the painters and graphic artists Hubertus Giebe and Prof. Bernhard Heisig as well as the state secretary in the ministry for construction, Dr. Karl Schmiechen and the designer Jochen Ziska.

### Posters on the Topic "Peace of the World"

An exhibit in the foyer of the congress building showing more than 300 poster designs aroused great interest of the delegates and guests as well as of the numerous visitors to the Palace of the Republic. The posters were chosen from among 705 works by 428 artists submitted as part of the association competition "Peace of the World."

The GDR Council of Ministers gave a reception for the delegates and guests in the evening.

The Ninth Congress of the Association of Graphic Artists will continue its work on Wednesday in four working groups and with further discussion in the plenum.

## Organization President's Speech

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 16 Nov 83 pp 3-4

[Speech by Prof. Willi Sitte, president of the Association of Graphic Artists: "Through Their Works Artists Emphatically Profess Belief in Peace and Socialism"]

[Excerpts] Our ninth association congress takes place at a time that has been shaped by the fact that all over the world-- Marxists as well as Christians, members of parties as well as independents of different kinds of ideology, old and young--are fighting in word and deed against the great danger of world destruction as a result of the disastrous activity of the most reactionary forces of imperialism.

As graphic artists we have come here not only with words but also with posters, graphics, photographs, and caricatures that directly comment on and are partisan regarding matters that move us now. But what is a picture able to achieve in the face of a threat?

When I worked on my [artistic] contributions and followed the news every day, I felt this artistic work helped me view more clearly and with greater sensitivity what was happening. That is the very thing I believe art can achieve: to make people more aware, more alert, more vigilant, more attentive, and to open their eyes more.

Undoubtedly, the word is not our medium, but:

--in view of the jeopardizing of world peace by the Reagan government, let us unambiguously state that peace is being threatened from that side only;

--in view of the anti-communist propaganda against the Soviet government's peace initiatives, let us emphasize that we are backing this peace policy;

--in view of German history, let us repeat Comrade Erich Honecker's words that no war must ever again start out from German soil;

--in view of the U.S. aggression in Grenada, I do not know in the name of what human rights, let us express our indignation.

### Fruits of a Consistent Cultural Policy by Party and Government

We as artists find that we do not have to adapt ourselves in our work to the habits of thought, viewing, and preception of artistically uninterested masses but that this public challenges and needs us with the special quality of our work. But the public also finds that we do not just deliver anything

to it but that we communicate ourselves to it and discuss with it our most important work.

A broad I have been asked quite frequently about the rules for the special relationship between art and the public in our country. This quality of art appreciation is possible only in socialism. It is based on the farsighted and consistent cultural and educational policy guided by the working class party. Starting from the now already legendary KPD cultural conference in February 1946, via the SED party congresses and cultural conferences in the fifties and sixties to the 8th, 9th, and 10th party congresses including the Sixth Central Committee Plenum in 1972, it could be noted and can be noted that to this day the degree to which the working class party sees to the development of a democratic and socialist culture and art and we were well advised to have based our work creatively on the appropriate documents.

Being interested in art, that is not only the result of encountering works of art, but also that are above all the socialist living conditions in which responsible, inquisitive persons capable of enjoying art are developing. Here the consistent political orientation of the working class party bears fruit by resulting in the appreciation of the art treasures. The party has never left it to appeals, but has helped create conditions so that the growing interest can also be satisfied. This includes the growing network of museums and galleries in our country, the varied activities of the Cultural League's small galleries, of the art trade and of the city districts. I also have to mention the activity of the many full-time and part-time cultural workers and of the many artists and art scholars who are working in thousands of circles of popular artistic activity in enterprises and institutions as well as the commitment of many cultural workers.

#### People Need and Make Use of Our Art

The productive relationship between artists and the public is the result of the party's alliance policy. This alliance has transformed artists who formerly were not supported by anyone into artists whose works were needed and utilized by the people. Thus art in our country shifted from the periphery to the center of our social attention. It is the cooperation between working class and artists that advances us. Therefore, let me repeat a passage that I uttered at the past congress: "We have walked all paths together with the working class party, paths that were stony, steep, and full of obstacles, paths that were well and poorly lit; we have always exchanged opinions,

mutually and openly, also aggressively--as a part of this party, this state." From this relationship, an alliance has arisen that we are not going to permit anyone to encroach upon in the future.

It is known that no one can live in a society and be free from it at the same time. Thus everything that we do or fail to do has a political implication--even our artistic work. The arts have many tasks and functions which, however, in final analysis, can be reduced to two basic tasks: they have to get people to reach agreement with themselves, with their society, with the conditions, with their country, their history; they must impart strength, courage, and optimism to them. Wherever necessary, they have to disturb, warn, and admonish. Both tasks are political in nature and exhibitions of the past few years convincingly demonstrated how the artists of this country are fulfilling these tasks.

The highest recognition should be given to the person who in spite of the full awareness of all antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions of our time expresses his faith in the future, who, from deep knowledge of world historical and current political correlations, who from the effort of the concept and the feelings adopts and keeps alive the conviction that we are on the side of victors, on the side of historical progress, and that we must succeed not only in preventing a nuclear world catastrophe but also in creating humane conditions for all on this planet. What we need are works of art that express the spiritual struggle for this conviction in a believable and comprehensible manner.

#### Socialist Realism--Expression of Our Attitude

To say that means to characterize the basic realistic character of our art. As is well known, socialist realism is no stylistic formula that can simply be applied or needs to be seen on the creative work, but it is expression of an attitude toward reality, whose essential maxims consist in remaining in very close contact with the constant changes in the social organism and in the social psyche and to find and invent valid pictures for them in each case. And since reality is constantly in flux and developing, the manifestations of realistic art are also constantly changing.

Thus this expresses at the same time that realism cannot wear out like other isms and styles but that it is always able to renew itself through the work of the artists. And it has been further proved that we would be foolish if we were to listen to those who have tried to prove to us for many decades in a

tiresome fashion that realistic art behavior is done with, obsolete, and old-fashioned. We are used to the fact that our intentions are misinterpreted, interpreted in a distorted manner or that insinuations on our intentions abound, but we see and know that we owe it particularly to the application of our principles that our art--especially recently--has further gained international standing. The alternative recommended to us so frequently that we should follow the constantly changing fashion trends dictated by the market place may perhaps be tempting to one person or another but as maxim of our art policy it would lead us into the same dead end of isolation from society in which a great many artists in the present capitalist society find themselves. The center of our art remains socialist-realist art in which the individual artist, starting from his individuality, has a thorough look at reality.

In addition, there will also continue to be artists who because of other ideological or artistic attitudes, will have a different relationship toward reality. There will also be those who, afraid of a lack of their own originality and modernness, will timidly follow the artistic fashions prevailing elsewhere. As in the past, our relationship with them will be as understanding as critical. In this connection, our responsibility demands that we point out the historical experience of the German intelligentsia that that person can become guilty who has priority concern for his emotional life during critical times while the enemy against whom others are to assume the defense is knocking at the door.

If in relation to socialist realism we speak of diversity and latitude, that is not done to act as if we were liberal but because a "productive attitude" toward the wealth of life phenomena and the diversity of art needs of the public does not tolerate reduction or limitation either by content or in form. Simply the variety of needs with which the art-interested public visits our exhibitions necessitates diversity of contents and spread of forms.

Thus the public needs not only works that warn, shake up, make aware of dangers and contradictions, but also pictures, graphic and plastic art that meet the need for harmony and balance, that shape what makes life worth living and worthy to defend, that provide courage and strength.

#### To Enjoy and Preserve Everyday Beauty

During the 35-year GDR art history, there has always been a convincing artistic trend that was concerned with the presentation of beauty, harmony, and internal balance in

addition to the works of art that had threats and admonitions as their topic. To this day these artists have found their subjects in the familiar environment perceptible to the senses: the native landscape, the usual streets, the faces known to them from everyday life. These artists are concerned, as Niethmeyer-Holstein once said, to show the simplest things surrounding us in such beauty that everyone feels they are worth being appreciated and preserved. Research and interpretation of our way of life and environment also became productive these years in the pictures that had their origin in the life experiences, interests, hopes, fears, everyday efforts, successes and difficulties and in the expectations of happiness for men. The thematic, topical, and stylistic diversity of our art is the result of strenuous efforts of the artists and of many social forces. It constitutes a significant achievement. However, this must not mislead us to ignoring the criticism of those visitors to the Ninth Art Exhibition who found a shortage of pictorial presentations of personalities and events of the working class.

It would of course mean confusing theme and material of a picture, the speaker continued, if we were to seek and find action, attitude and zest for life of the working class only in the worker and historical picture but not also in other pictures of men, in the landscape, the still life, the nude. But the question should be asked what the reason would be that a self-evident matter proved by history should be canceled by us of all people in our days and under our conditions.

For at all times in which people were striving for individuality and self-confidence as a social value, they themselves also felt the need to be part of the picture. The portraits of donors of the early Renaissance were the start of the flowering of the portrait art of modern times. We are part of this tradition that has lasted for over 500 years; it is now our duty to seek imaginatively pictorial solutions appropriate to our days and our conditions. It would be below our dignity by pointing to less successful examples in this field to question the claim itself, particularly since pictures and plastic art also were always in the center of past art exhibitions that helped the workers make a picture of themselves, to discover themselves.

#### Shaping the Face of the Working Class Convincingly

Such results have made many working people in our country more aware who they are and what they are capable of. Pictures that illustrate the entire wealth of the working class, to live their art, to work, and to dream are too few at this time.

And especially the working class that shapes every day in a process as arduous as it is creative, the material base of our society has a right to such pictures and plastic art.

We must reflect on what we can and must do jointly to achieve a new sensory closeness to the working class. The development of personal relations, even friendships, frequently is a long drawn-out process that basically ought to start at universities and technical colleges. Such personal relations, if they are to be substantial and lasting, must concretely grow.

We see the solution in the development of manifold partnerships right on the spot, whereby the efforts must come from both sides. We are accepting the criticism that in recent years we have not dealt thoroughly enough with the face of the working class but at the same time direct the urgent request to all customers also to demand appropriate works and, after they have been produced, to handle them productively. In this field it is especially true that the creation of important works of art is the common achievement of those who create the art and those who are responsible for their public use.

That is the reason why we are pointing out so frequently the productive partnership with the National People's Army that has now lasted for years in which we have found such a customer. Therefore we are welcoming the increased interest of our youth association following the FDJ cultural conference and that of the FDGB, that of the ministry for agriculture, forestry and the foodstuffs industry, with which we as an association have recently concluded promising agreements that include long-term concrete arrangements not only on the number of commissions but also commitments on creative conditions and public use of the works. In the past, such a sense of responsibility has not been sufficiently present.

How indispensable it is for us to jointly look more for effective activities in our time has become especially evident to us in recent years from the role of political graphics. That we need more political graphics, that the events in our world daily virtually cry out for political graphics, that they are to intervene in social events--all that is undisputed. It gave me satisfaction to note the appeal to the artists by Herbert Sandberg in connection with our congress in the latest issue of SONNTAG. Nevertheless we have had to record a reduction of political graphics in recent years. The individual artist cannot disclaim responsibility for that; we had agreed on that also at our Weimar conference.

## Political Graphics Must Be Public and Have Mass Effect

The visit to the Buchenwald admonitory and memorial site has reminded us during this conference what our spiritual and moral roots are. In view of Fritz Cremer's plastic art, the effect it had on millions of people, we became also conscious of what art is capable of achieving if it is faced with great humane tasks.

The sculptors, challenged to create memorials for the victims of fascism in Buchenwald, Ravensbrueck, Sachsenhausen, and other places shaped our art most profoundly in the fifties. In dealing with fascism and the resistance, they came to grips with history in which they and their people were involved. In doing so, they had to create forms that, as Fritz Cremer himself formulated it, expressed that "suffering, struggle, and victory of those fighting for liberation belong together." Memorials were made that made an impression on us.

Today we are also ready to invest our entire artistic effort in the memorials to be created for revolutionary events and personalities, so that in works in which we illustrate our relationship to the revolutionary and democratic traditions it becomes publicly evident where we came from and who we are. The collective headed by Ludwig Engelhardt that is devotedly working on the Marx-Engels tribute demonstrates this readiness as do Anke-Besser-Gueth and Siegfried Besser with their plastic art commemorating <sup>the</sup> Eisenach Party Congress, as do Theo Balden, Kurt-Hermann Kuehn and their collective who are developing the Liebknecht forum in Potsdam, as does Heinrich Apel with his portrait of "Franz Mehring."

Political art in one's own time can only be effective if this art reaches people, if its effect does not remain confined to a few exhibitions, to collectors folders, and museum depots. "I want to have an effect now"; this sentence by Kaethe Kollwitz therefore expresses the essence of the way the political graphic artist sees himself, for: only that is political what is public and has a mass effect.

We like to speak of the political graphic art by Daumier, Kollwitz, and Heartfield, but in doing so forget that their reproductions achieved a tremendous political effect only because their dissemination was not confined to the effect of the original. Their work was disseminated by the then latest reproduction techniques and distribution methods.

The progressive bourgeois art development and also the history of the labor movement teaches how successfully political graphic art can be employed, according to the speaker.

If we are to critically state here that the results of our work frequently are not yet sufficiently used, then this should not be interpreted as a complaint similar to that of a rejected lover, but behind this criticism is the worry that our society leaves unused existing potentialities in an important field, something that is counter to our practice in other fields. We also know that the practice is the most important criterion for the development of higher standards and therefore is indispensable. Esthetics and art criticism can help us in that and we are happy that now we have quite a few art scholars who concern themselves with current and the very latest problems and phenomena, but they cannot replace the public for us.

Dependent on the productive partnership are especially those graphic art fields whose work is implemented in everyday life, that have their important social spheres in the esthetic penetration of the objects constantly surrounding us, life relationships, and mass media. This applies primarily to the architecturally-related art that, in its contribution to the urban development and in the implementation of the residential construction program, has great importance for the fact that we feel comfortable in the environment built by us. Architecturally-related art produces no esthetic extras or superfluous accessories for our cities and houses but it determines to a considerable extent the utility and experience value and enables us to perceive the quality of our cities in a sensory-vivid manner.

However, complex city planning as a permanent task especially of inner-city construction cannot remain restricted to the construction and cultural organs. Complex city planning can only be effectively implemented as a common concern of the local state organs and with intensive collaboration from the social organs of the population.

#### Housing Construction Program Requires Cooperation With the Architects

The development of our cities during recent years shows that we have made joint progress in complex urban planning. Encouraging examples for that as part of the housing construction program are: Berlin-Marzahn and Magdeburg-Olvenstedt in the renewal of old construction areas; development of the pedestrian areas in Dresden, Rostock, Potsdam, Erfurt, and Greifswald; in the creation of representative buildings: the Leipzig Gewandhaus, the Gera house of culture, and the Schwedt kreis house of culture.

Prerequisites for convincing solutions are present in all those places where a continuous participation of graphic artists in the entire process of planning, preparation, and implementation of investments or reconstruction structures is guaranteed. These architecturally related services by applied art, usually provided by commercial artists, designers, and artist craftsmen are part of the social space order or serve its careful, functional and esthetic shaping and supplementing. I expressly emphasize that in this connection we are not interested in additional expenditure but in more effective use of the available possibilities.

In this connection, especially the work of the bezirk councils is to be stressed that have created organizationally and materially prerequisites for the establishment of the office for architecturally-related art.

To guarantee that architects and graphic artists are even better coordinated in the future, continuous support by esthetics or architectural theory and expert training within the specialized artistic fields is required. Documentation and scientific appraisal of the results of the cooperation are required. In my opinion, prerequisites for that are present at the Berlin and Dresden art colleges and at the Weimar architectural college.

In the Fucik halls at the Ninth Art Exhibition we had to convince ourselves of the fact that aside from the above-mentioned examples of the architectually related art there are only relatively few examples for a demanding productive ordering system. That is a cause for the fact that at present only few experiments and standards could be found for the work environment, commuter traffic, packaging products, basic commodities, but also political and social posters and other commercial arts products for mass consumption. It is true, there is the continuation of the traditionally proven partnership relations in fields such as books, illustrations, and posters of events, but new productive relations remain the exception. Much of the interesting work has been produced for individual or collective self-initiated order. In the Fucik halls they were accepted by the public with exactly as much interest as the works in the Albertinum.

#### Strong Interest of the Public in Applied Art

The public interest in applied art that has been constantly growing quantitatively and qualitatively from art exhibition to art exhibition can be explained primarily by the fact that the public feels that the artists exhibiting here are concerned

with the concrete enrichment of their own everyday environment and the pictorial world of the means of mass communication. The fact that the majority of these artists are constantly preparing new proposals and offers for the further improvement of the spatial graphical and commercial art environment of the working people expresses a socialist artistic attitude testifying to a high degree of social responsibility.

However different the possibilities for an effect of the various applied fields may be in detail, this artistic attitude close to the people is probably the decisive basis for the higher quality in almost all fields of applied art. Most of the work is directed not toward fashion fads, quick consumption, superficial thrills, but their goal is influencing the socialist way of life and enrichment of personality development.

The best achievements of our commercial art, product designing, and photography were internationally certified that, relatively independent of the fashion-product and mass-picture change, they are moving independently in the tension field of tradition and innovation and therefore are able to utilize a multiplicity of means of expression. Development of this productive independence must be continued and made effective and experienced by even broader masses. Traditional trades, technologies, and workshops and modern technical tools, studios, enterprises ought to be used for the development of products that can be achieved independent of the fact whether the artist is employed, self-employed or is a member of a collective. However, in the future the smallest enterprise ought not be the sole possible and worthwhile goal in the assignment of young art craftsmen.

#### Productive Relationship Between Artist and Customer Necessary

The ordering system is still inadequately developed organizationally, structurally, economically, and materially for the designing tasks assigned to the applied arts field by society. Therefore it is so important that recently institutions such as the ministry for culture, the office for industrial designing, the ministry for construction, the ministry for light industry, and the ministry for glass and ceramics have thought about and continue to think about how to find solutions that can gradually lead to more productive relations between customers and artists in the fields of the applied sciences important to the working people.

## Always Measuring by High Standards

If we have said critical things of the ordering system in the interest of the common cause, we are not only referring to our partners but also to our own work. We must also be capable of self-criticism. Rightly we are frequently taking issue with the quality of the customer's work, but are we equally critical regarding the quality of our own artistic work? That is not only important to maintain a credible dialog with our partners but it is also indispensable to apply high standards to our works, for in fact only good art can be effective. Isn't it true that we have too much mediocrity in the graphic and applied arts? And what does it mean that some colleagues are not represented frequently even once for years in any exhibition, not even in an accounting exhibition but otherwise are taking advantage of all rights of association membership?

This includes that many an artist likes to speak of the undemanding nature of some customers but at the same time readily delivers poor quality products to this customer. We must conduct self-critical discussions among ourselves concerning artistic standards and attitudes.

As can be read in the accounting report, the association has achieved varied improvements in working and living conditions through the support of our party and the state in past years. Without exaggeration, such social living conditions for artists exist only in a socialist state. We only need to compare them with the for the most part catastrophic conditions of the artists in capitalist countries. These social achievements, I believe, have been provided for creatively working artists, not merely as welfare.

To state it clearly once again: We regard ourselves as the social organization of the graphic artists and art scholars with political responsibility in this state, an organization that at the same time assumes tasks of a professional association. Both sides are inseparably linked, that is to say every organizational or social decision and measure has political importance and every ideological decision entails organizational consequences if it is to be reflected in the work.

As proved by the election meetings preparatory to this congress, many colleagues actively participate in the association's work and many are ready to assume responsibility in leadership functions. The accounting reports, speeches, and discussion speeches in most cases were on a high level. I would like to thank from the bottom of my heart the old and new

section managements, work group managements and bezirk executives from this stage for their for the most part devoted work in the interest of the colleagues.

It is indisputable that during the recent decades young artists have made an important contribution to the art development of our country. Frequently it was the very artists whose work was initially judged to be problematical, Professor Sitte emphasized. The thing that frequently seemed to be inconvenient and problematical in most cases had a productive and persuading effect on the dialog within the association.

#### Important Contribution of the Young Generation

Today the young artists are preparing their contribution under qualitatively better working and living conditions than was possible for older artist generations. This social security, the expression of the social policy above all following the Eighth SED Congress, is also a result of responsible cooperation of the active members of the Association of Graphic Artists.

Guidance of graduates, settlement in bezirks, sponsorship contracts, ordering system, new possibilities for exhibitions, making housing and studio rooms available, favorable credit possibilities, social insurance regulations are some of the state measures that--even with all existing problems--have made socially more secure the formerly difficult transition of the university and technical college graduates to the profession.

What we sometimes find critically formulated as "problems" of young artists in analyses and expressions of opinion, in my opinion must be explained by us from the totality of social and internal artistic factors into which the young artist generation is now placed. As it is, youth is just one phase in life in which youth learns to find its place in society and that signifies for it to cope with the contradictions between ideal and reality, to concretely help implement these ideals in its own action by mustering all its strength.

And however arduously the past achievements have been made by the older generations, if we look forward to the coming decades then we see that those who are now growing up in enterprises, at universities, and art colleges, will not have it any easier. They will have to solve these tasks just as we have done it by growing into the responsibility and thus will shape the developed socialist society.

### Concrete Sponsorship by the FDJ

By finding themselves faced with these tasks, they will become active and independent. To prevail they will require all talents, capabilities, steadfastness, and partisanship. Of course, youth also has a great responsibility for itself. And as every generation, it will grow with its tasks and it will then also know how to protect and defend by all means the things it has worked and fought for.

As the older artists, too frequently we still treat the younger ones as if we were teachers, try to solve problems for them, to spare them difficulties, to lead them by the hand instead of furthering their abilities, so that they see that we are in a process together.

But the most important thing for us is to assign artistic tasks to the young in which they can independently develop their relationship to the vital problems of our time in the abrasive effect of reality. Just as we, my generation for example in the fifties, artistically more or less well mastered our then not exactly uncomplicated present in creative, sometimes also militant cooperation with former ASSO members. An invaluable experience that every generation will have in its own way.

Thus readiness for achievement, self-critical behavior, realistic fundamental positions, and constant measurement of one's own work by the highest quality standards cannot simply be instilled in the internal university operation but can be shaped only in a meaningful practice-related art process. But simultaneously a significant improvement of social science training at the art colleges is to be demanded, a Marxist-Leninist education that comprises conflict of opinions and inspires independent thinking and action.

This also applies especially to the work of the youth association at the universities. Through such practice-related tasks at the universities as the subway competition "Peace of the World" or the task to give the "Wilhelm Pieck" youth college at the Bogensee a new artistic form, the relations between our youth association and young artists in artistic work will develop concretely.

Whoever has the good fortune to develop his artistic gifts and utilize them professionally has the obligation at the same time to open up the treasures of culture and art to those who help ensure the material bases of our life in devoted work. That is just as much a part of our socialist morality as the truism of quality artistic work.

We have made significant progress on the path to an approximation between art and the people during the past 35 years, as proved by every comparison with the past and with conditions outside our country. Even excellent works of art are not effective all by themselves but require intelligent explanation.

In this part of the work, we have good partners in the art scholars, critics, art educators, and the publishing houses, but the artists, too, have important tasks in this work. A wide and beautiful field of meaningful activity is opening up here for our colleagues. In doing this work, they will not merely be those who give but they will learn a great deal themselves, since in this manner they are facing the direct criticism of their target group and thus come a bit closer to the reality of life.

It does no one any good in the long run if he anxiously keeps his ideals and his artistic program away from reality. Rather he will reach full development of his resources and his oft mentioned sensitivity if he exposes himself and his work to the public. Thus it will be possible to keep alive and further develop socialist realism in content and form of expression.

Such an attitude not only advances the young artists but also keeps the older ones young. For we all need this flexibility, the ability to make contradictions productive, the strength to change ourselves and the conditions, we need a lot of staying power and a broad view.

#### Find Ways to Reason and Senses of the People

The antifascist artist Otto Pankok in an article in the "Yearbook of the State Academy of Arts in Duesseldorf" for 1948/50 avowed in defiance of the then already established ruling opponents of realism: "Painting in an abstract fashion is slipping into a game, an evasion of the truth, by going into uncontrollable fields. The painter of such pictures enters a room in which freedom appears to exist, but it is only arbitrariness that presumes to be called freedom. It is freedom in an empty room, in a country without people" and he called out to his young colleagues "to follow the path that leads to reason and to the senses of the other people."

Retrospective graphic arts exhibitions of the recent decades, such as we have experienced in "Companions--Contemporaries" or are now preparing with the exhibition "Everyday Life and Epoch" on the occasion of the 35th anniversary of the GDR, made us conscious of the continuity of an art that renews itself from

the constant dialog with reality. And the things that are now being created in the studios and will be seen next year at bezirk art exhibitions will demonstrate that this continuity is being carried on here with new works.

#### To Be Fighters on the Side of the Future

The need of the artists to have an effect with their works not only in our country but also internationally arises from the desire that their works in which they commit themselves from their personal point of view to the struggles for peace, socialism, and democracy in our world also desire to have an effect in the world. Art has these internationalist possibilities for effectiveness to link people all over the world who are concerned with human progress and who are fighting against oppression and exploitation on this earth. If our work could make a modest contribution to that--that would be important.

In an epoch of the hardest class struggles, in a time when the very existence is at stake, in a time of the struggle of many peoples and countries on this globe, such as in Central and South America, in South Africa, and the Near East to all of whom belongs our passionate solidarity for peace, freedom, and human rights, against a gigantic machinery of oppression and exploitation of the U.S. administration, in this time we want to be artists, fighters, and voices on the side of the just, on the side of the future.

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GDANSK PARTY LEADER SPEAKS OUT ON SIGNIFICANCE OF SOCIAL CONFLICT

Warsaw PRAWO I ZYCIE in Polish No 40, 1 Oct 83 pp 3, 4, 5

/Interview with Edward Kijek, secretary of the Gdansk PZPR Provincial Committee, by Andrzej Lukaszewski: "What Unites, What Separates"/

/Text/ /Question/ Comrade Secretary, it is 3 years since the Gdansk August of 1980. What fundamental differences do you see between that August and the Gdansk August of 1983?

/Answer/ I would call August 1980 a month of hope. Hope seemed to appear after years of erroneous policies and propaganda. We all entertained this hope, literally all, except, perhaps, for a small group of so-called prominent people. The whole nation, regardless of membership in political organizations and of world outlook, had long felt deceived, for we all knew of the discrepancy between proclaimed slogans and their realization. I believe that members of the party particularly felt this discrepancy. For they were weighed down by a sense of responsibility for things done under the aegis of the PZPR, over which, however, they had no influence. It is no secret that everything which Solidarity actually put forward for the workers later had already been spoken of earlier, during the campaign before the Eighth Congress, by members of the party, by the men to whom it afterwards fell to be ashamed of their leaders. They said that it had been a waste of breath.

Unfortunately, today, looking from the perspective of time, one can ascribe yet another characteristic to that August: besides hope, there was...a void. For there was no program common to all citizens for getting out of the political as well as economical impasse. The party was unable to effect a turn in the situation. Frankly, on the contrary, when the mask of fellowship, of ideological unity, fell, a whole sea of problems became evident. There emerged shortcomings in education; there emerged flaws in the sloganistic treatment of Marxism; there merged, in the end, the usual human deficiencies--the private interests of individuals and groups in the party branches.

A great many bitter words were exchanged at our provincial ideological conference and at the conference reporting on this subject. There were no means then of building a program for the nation when we had no program for ourselves. As for Solidarity, unfortunately it, too, was unable--because it was unwilling--to create an optimistic program. For such a program would have had to establish that

Poland is a socialist country, and that the Marxist-Leninist party, although weakened at that time, is the one political force with the right and the duty to represent the workers.

That August, therefore, was the beginning of the changes which were in store for the country, not, as has been presumed, their end. If only the workers--those who as a mass supported the union grown out of the strikes--had realized at the time how tragic a paradox was resulting from the fact that in wanting to stop being a screen behind which those who warped socialism, hid, they became a screen and even a battering ram for those who wanted to destroy it. If such men as Kuron, Modzelewski, Geremek and their disciples had understood where their opposition was leading, there would have been no dramas later, none of those long months of discord and division which strangled the nation.

That August, though we did not expect it, there was also a waft of falseness--one spoke "Pole to Pole" but thought about punching each other in the mouth.

In the course of the last few dozen months we, the authorities and the nation, have understood much. August 1983 is already a different August. One could undo whole years of peaceful history with that which has taken place in the nation in these 36 months. Nobody now wants to treat anybody else as a facade. For we all now know that a facade not propped up by solid walls, clever construction and strong foundations always collapses and rushes down on the head of the one who thought that nothingness, empty empty talk and slogans without substance could be hidden behind a lovely facade.

Today we, the members of the party, confront the task of a struggle against the faulty opinions about socialism and about our organization which have arisen recently. A struggle for the understanding and support of the resolutions of the Ninth Congress of the PZPR, which was the biggest and the best proof that our party is the single political force which in every situation, including a crisis, can lead society not with demagogic slogans but with an intelligent program with perspective. Gradually, step by step, we will recover lost ground--this time not in theory, not on paper, not in statistics, but in practice. People are becoming convinced that our hearts, our brains, serve the whole nation, and that our hands are clean and fit for building not a second Japan, not a second Poland, but that original Poland in which so much remains to be done.

Question Is this charming wish or an actuality?

Answer Are we doing this successfully? During the last months--from December 1981 to August 1983--we in Poland, and particularly in Gdansk, have lived through various tensions and tragedies. For every communist cannot help but regard as a personal and class tragedy the necessity--necessity, I emphasize--of using the forces of order against a part of society, even when there have been fewer and fewer people in its midst to whom years of work have given the right to speak about Poland's past and future, and more and more of those who might be excused by their youth and--this is sad but true--by the educational errors which we have committed in the past decade. The use of these unusual means--I repeat what we have already said so often--had its sole justification in the primary cause--Poland.

It grieves us, and continues to grieve us, that people are so slow in getting to like us, that we are implementing our fair policies with such minimal support. But it has been a comfort that every successive clash has been milder, that the people, although not always trusting us, have stopped believing in the slogans of the underground. Well, then on 31 September 1983, on the third anniversary of the signature of the Gdansk agreements, we were on the point of being convinced yet once more that the withdrawal of martial law had not been premature, that the working class--the whole nation--had triumphed. This was the victory of good sense.

Do our words and actions reach society? Is the progress of normalization something real or only our pious wish? There were predictions long ago, in hostile broadcasts and leaflets, of formidable street demonstrations, of a boycott of work, the press and communication lines, of strikes and of everything with which the opposition has threatened us for 3 years. In effect, it turned out that the pious wishes were on our opponents' side. Nothing has occurred which could undermine our faith in the progress of normalization. If one were to appraise the forces of the underground after the last incidents in Gdansk, well, they are leftovers--I would not call them anything else. Several demagogic slogans, several hundred people who are persuaded that a communist is God's personal foe, some youth sowing its wild oats: that is all they have at their command. That is enough to upturn a few benches, break a few windows, not enough to change the system.

Familiar with history, we know that in the end reason always triumphs over emotion, and realism over fanaticism, but it has sometimes happened that before reason triumphed over these, people experienced many tragedies, both nationally and individually. We in Poland have avoided this in the last few months, for after defeating the opposition we did not leave it at that. At the same time and above all, we waged a war for the support of the working class. We created, at a rapid pace, real foundations for constructing the mechanisms which run the country, we plainly demonstrated that we are genuine advocates of national peace based not on some rah-rah optimistic "Let's love one another" but on respect for the constitution.

If one were to seek further differences from the situation of 3 years ago, today, before every promise made to the people, we deliberate at length over its realization, and after each promise come laws and facts.

Also, it is unusually essential that the party is regaining its capacity for political activity more and more quickly of late. The members of the PZPR have for the most part shaken off their lethargy of the 1970's and their ideological frustration of 1981. They have adopted the program worked out by the Ninth Congress and are trying to implement it. These last facts, as much as the National Meeting of the Youth Aktiv of the PZPR taking place in Gdansk, proved that the party has revived, has drawn conclusions about the past, and has formed from these tools for the war against evil.

In conclusion, August 1980 was a month of great hopes and small possibilities, and August 1983 is a month of moderate hopes and moderate possibilities. And politics, like nature, is at its best in a state of equilibrium.

/Question/ Returning to 31 August 1983, what, in your opinion, is the true power of the underground?

/Answer/ I will repeat once again what I have stated. If that which took place on 31 August in Gdansk and other Polish cities were to be the measure of the underground's force, well then, there is nothing to fear. As for those few gentlemen, who from I do not know what motives--primarily from ambition, I suppose--are unwilling to profit from the generosity of the amnesty, it is possible for a long time yet for them to irritate, to publish proclamations, to use foreign radio stations, to exhort, to appeal, but willy nilly they are rapidly passing into history--an ignoble history, but nevertheless one of recent years. They are becoming comic as, for example, the emigre government in London is comic. They are becoming a political monster and not a real force.

This does not mean that no opposition exists; it is an integral part of every political system. Our concern is for it to be a fringe of society rather than a majority, to be a group of discontented people rather than an injured mass. As for attempts to reverse the course of history and as for attacks on socialism, we will, of course, stamp these out, for that is in the actual interest of the working class, even when, beguiled by demagogic slogans, they deny their own interest.

The lively interest of the Polish working class, of the whole society, is for Poland to be socialist, for her allies to be not across the ocean--although we do not retreat even from those--but next door to us, because all the misfortunes up to this time have come about from the search for fellowship from afar, and from quarrels with those who are natural allies and neighbors.

/Question/ Is there sufficient time separating us from 1980 and from the ensuing events to enable us to appraise them objectively?

/Answer/ One can, one should, regard the past from every distance and draw conclusions of the future. One sees differently from every distance, that is also true. We--I have in mind here the members of the Gdansk party organization--nowadays see matters as the time which has passed and the facts which we know allow us to see them. A historian can wait for an interpretation of the past months, a politician cannot. The politician who waits is always late. Our knowledge of things, however, allows us to be certain that we have acted or are acting rightly. Every day brings an affirmative answer to the question: is right on our side? Recent days have also affirmed this; history will judge us, but I believe that it will judge us as we expect.

/Question/ August is not only the anniversary of the strikes but also the anniversary of the signing of the common agreements. How do you appraise these, how do you regard their realization?

/Answer/ The answer to this question is complicated. Two sides signed the agreements: the government and the strikers' committee, which--as was said then--identified itself with the will of the working class. The authorities of the PRL, regardless of what their personal constituency may be, have always honored and will honor the signatures set down in its name, and therefore we are

not backing out of any agreements, not Gdansk's, not Szczecin's, not Jastrzebie's. Actually, the realization of these agreements resulted in huge changes, in jurisdiction, for example, and in the democratization of the structures of national authority. That is the government's side; and what of the other side? Well, then, should I enumerate? Strikes, antinational incidents, demonstrations, which in the opinion of Solidarity were supposed to be their practical realization? But let us return to the agreements themselves, although I will admit candidly--many of us knew even then, even on the day of signature, that certain points--certain, I emphasize, for most were and are realized--could not be fully realized. The antisocialist opposition dictated these points to the striking workers. Precisely the fact that they were unrealistic made this opposition sure that, through the workers, it would be able to benefit from these points, to struggle thereafter against the government, and moreover against socialism and Poland. One of the negotiators admitted recently in the columns of POLITYKA that he was conscious that some of the postulates were unrealistic but accepted them just for the sake of peace. I will not, at this moment, discuss whether his was a suitable attitude.

Speaking concisely, in keeping faith with the spirit of the agreements, it is necessary to take their letter into consideration. Once more, now without emotions, without the threat of strikes, without a moral pistol held to the negotiators' temple, it is necessary to consider the feasibility of the individual points and to determine the conditions which must be fulfilled for them to take on real shape.

/Question/ Are you aware of the unpopularity of what you just said?

/Answer/ The truth, the candid truth, very often proves unpopular, but is that a reason not to voice it? In the end society's fundamental right, for which this society has fought, is the right to the truth, often unpleasant, not showy, tearful--but the truth. And in the name of precisely this truth is necessary to reflect once more on the documents of the agreement. Not in order to limit the rights of the labor world but to honor them in actuality, not merely in slogans.

/Question/ In your opinion, does everything which has been happening in recent months in Poland make for improvement? Are we not committing errors again? New errors which, when they accumulate, will bring about bitterness, if not tomorrow, then the day after, if not in 5 years, then in 10--in a word, until the next turning point?

/Answer/ A country without problems, a country with absolute contentment and prosperity exists only in the philosophical considerations of thinkers. We have accomplished much good in recent months, we have straightened out many matters. I do not want to mention the new laws of the Sejm point by point, to recall the government's decisions, the resolutions of the Politburo, I do not want to discuss measurable results. Everyone except the pigheaded is aware of all these things.

But there are also many matters which grieve us. Do you suppose that the position of secretary of the Provincial Committee prevents me from seeing the evil which

we are committing? Do you suppose that I do not see the dullness, conceit and ordinary laziness of certain representatives of the administration and of the party as well? Do you suppose that I do not see how the Croesus of private business fatten on the crisis of the poor? I see as clearly as many other comrades and speak of it loudly, for the struggle against all this is more important than the struggle against our opposition. These are the branches on which our antagonist sits. People, ordinary people, who get up early in the morning to go to work, who ride trams in traffic jams, who fulfill their tasks perhaps in difficult, primitive conditions, who stand on lines, who wait years for housing: all this I see and I say, "What are you doing to in order not to allow such glaring inequalities, such unfair disproportions?"

We, the party, must find an answer to this question. For these people will turn away from us, and then--as history has taught us--our antagonist awaits them, with his demagoguery, with his heaping of all evils on socialism. We discuss this, we look for mechanisms which will award work, not cunning, which will allow us to restore faith in a socialist rather than a divine fairness. This does not come easily, because every medicine has unfavorable effects, for example, Polonia firms. While it is a fact that they solve many problems, it is also a fact that they create new ones as well.

A task awaits us which begins with our reappraising from and to which points we intend a solution to the great many problems preying on our minds. The next plenum of the Central Committee will doubtlessly contribute to an elucidation of their range.

Question In connection with the withdrawal of martial law, a notion about the army's return to its barracks has become popular. Comrade, you are a professional officer of the LWP /Polish People's Army/. Has the uniform been hung up for long?

Answer This saying about the army's return to barracks does not accord very well with Polish circumstances. The Polish Army is not an apolitical force. We are deeply involved in both what is Polish and what is socialist. Daily we cooperate in the building of our country. It is difficult to separate our hardship from the hardship of the worker or of the peasant. In every position each one of us Polish citizens does his patriotic duty. A uniform does not change an individual's convictions. We are the same sort of party members as everyone else. Besides, working in the army I was a political officer, I had long occupied myself with matters of propaganda. I was, among other things, the secretary of the Youth Council of the LWP and second in command of the tactical association for political matters. These were not, and so are not, new problems for me.

Professional officers in a socialist country do not constitute a distinct caste. They are the same kind of citizens as all upright Poles. As for hanging up my uniform for long, every adult man whom physical conditions allow to serve his country with arms is a soldier--a private, a noncommissioned officer, or an officer. Everyone, therefore, is simultaneously a civilian and a military man--simply, a Pole.

Interviewer Thank you for the interview.

POLAND

HISTORIAN'S ROLE IN SOCIETY ASSESSED

Scholar Advocates Independence, Veracity

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 38, 18 Sep 83 pp 1, 7

[Interview with Professor Zbigniew Wojcik, historian from the PAN Institute of History, by Magdalena Bajer]

[Text] Zbigniew Wojcik was born in 1922. He acquired his secondary school certification in clandestine study groups in 1941, having been a member of the ZWZ AK [Union of Armed Struggle of the Home Army] as of 1940. After the war, he worked in the national archives. In 1959, he began work in the PAN [Polish Academy of Sciences] Institute of History, where he has remained until the present day. He qualified as assistant professor in 1960; in the 1970's he lectured at American universities: Harvard and Columbia. Professor Wojcik's more important publications relate to events in western Europe in modern times ("The Treaty of Andruszow of 1667 and Its Origin," "Dzikie Pola on Fire") or events in general history ("General History of the XVI-XVII Centuries," "Russian History 1533-1801"). This year his monograph "Jan Sobieski" came out, published by PIW [State Publishing Institute].

[Question] Professor Wojcik, do you agree with the opinion that the role of spiritual leaders of the nation falls to the humanists, among them historians?

[Answer] That is every intellectual's role, I believe, although one could offer a few exceptions to the formulation.

[Question] Certainly. In this context, what do you regard as most important for historians today?

[Answer] Two things. The first is probably common to all disciplines: methodological problems. The second, particularly important in humanist studies, and especially in that study which I represent, is ethical problems, the moral

responsibility of the scholar. The order in which I mention these matters does not indicate their hierarchy.

[Question] Is something happening in the methodology of historical studies which absorbs all or most of the investigators?

[Answer] Oh, yes. There is a clash of opinions over how the past should be represented, in other words, what history should be. Should it be, speaking most briefly but most precisely, studies or duration, i.e., of processes which take place over the ages in human societies--as the French School "Annales" and its followers have understood it--or also the reconstruction of events? Many historians throughout the world and also in Poland have definitively rejected this second approach as an unessential recording of events, and have turned to an investigation of accumulated, longlasting phenomena, such as demography, the development of human mentality, the development of religion, the evolution of everyday life, and so on.

[Question] Surely these approaches need not be mutually exclusive? After all, events and the courses of events form their own great processes, do they not?

[Answer] You are right, but in the present phase of discussion both sides take rather extreme positions. The disciples of "long duration" express themselves very disrespectfully about "the history of events." On the other side, for example, the prominent compatriot of the creators of the "Annales" school, the investigator of ancient events, Professor Veyne, has reached the conclusion that history generally does not need any method of investigation, being simply a description of events.

[Question] And you, Professor, to which side do you incline?

[Answer] In connection with the huge expansion of the field of historical investigations--formerly we pursued a history of leaders and of wars--when, strictly speaking, all spheres of human life in the past interest us, the theory of long duration is most well founded and fruitful. But the disqualification of the history of events seems totally unfounded to me, since it sometimes leads to a denial of scholarly value to investigations in the sphere of political history.

[Question] Do adherents of the theory of long duration predominate among Polish historians?

[Answer] From my observations, the following picture arises: in discussions more and more investigators are turning to this theory, but in practice the majority still pursue the history of events, or a reconstruction of facts from the past which is based on sources.

[Question] I imagine that it is more difficult to pursue history of long duration.

[Answer] Undoubtedly. I am strongly convinced, although I am not an uncritical adherent of this theory, that it has many opponents precisely because of such difficulty.

[Question] And have we not been rather uncommittedly late in confronting this theory?

[Answer] No--at least not up until the moment of our conversation. Our contacts with the West and the East have always been lively, with every little news item reaching us early. A great many items came through unusually close contacts with French historical scholarship, through the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris, contacts which have already lasted almost 30 years and for which we are indebted in the highest degree to Professor Tadeusz Manteuffel, who died 13 years ago. In theory and methodology, moreover, we have something to be proud of: I refer to the labors of Professor Jerzy Topolski, with which it is impossible to agree at all times and on each point but which are a significant contribution to the great methodological discussion of world historiography being carried on.

[Question] Professor, in Poland, it seems to me, society makes special demands on its historians. It awaits either proclamations of hopes connected to various moments of national existence, or the alleviation of fears in other moments. Does this not hinder investigations of the past according to the rules of scholarly work?

[Answer] Perhaps it is not just that. I would like to speak about something that concerns other nations with a similar fate, although certainly it pertains to us most of all. Now, an English, French or German historian can indulge in mockery of his country's past. We cannot. Some people regard our continual solemnity as a sign of obscurantism, but that is a simplification. Someone who has had a happy past, who has never lost his independence, who has not lived through tragic national situations, who has not been dispossessed of national existence, can desecrate what is held sacred. For us this is a profound sin.

[Question] Does this actually trouble historians?

[Answer] It tends to have undesirable effects. It sometimes gives rise to certain nationalistic deviations, certain megalomanias, which I very much dislike--although I perfectly understand this general sensitivity, or even oversensitivity, and absolutely do not share the opinion of those historians and those intellectuals who believe that it is necessary to get rid of it. On the contrary--this is a type of psychological self-defense in the face of the disregard of history, which even so does not spare us from humiliations.

[Question] I shall repeat the question perhaps a little more precisely. Does the necessity of taking into account this general sensitivity (after all, historians themselves as well as members of society are distinguished by it) somehow essentially constrain investigation of the national past? It is not a question of mockery but of the possibility of revision of certain typical opinions, criticism of settled judgments, the defeat of occasionally harmful stereotypes.

[Answer] In their discussions and in the columns of scholarly periodicals, historians have repeatedly indicated the difference between the picture worked

out in investigations and common representations of facts from the past. Wanting to overcome this divergence--and such a desire is, among other things, our obligation--a historian must sometimes incur the disfavor of general opinion. If, having investigated a certain matter, he or she reaches conclusions incompatible with this opinion, then he or she must make them public.

[Question] Secondly, along with inquiry into the truth, the scholar's duty is to publish the results of investigations. In the case of the humanists, and especially of historians, this is usually synonymous with disseminating the results widely. At the same time, various factors shape the historical consciousness of society besides the publications of professional historians, and in this consciousness there are many strongly entrenched stereotypes which are not always desirable.

[Answer] The publication of the results of our investigations should be synonymous with their becoming widespread, as I have said--even in spite of stereotypes. The results should find their way into scholarly textbooks--that is the first measure of dissemination of opinions about the past. In practice this does not come easily. I will give an example from which one should possibly not draw overly general conclusions, but an eloquent one nevertheless. Many years ago, three historians, myself among them, established, on the basis of firsthand investigations, that in the famous battle of Pila about which every Pole has read in "Fire and Sword," there was generally no levy in mass. The regular armies, mainly lordly ones, but also others in the service of the republic, ran ignominiously from the field. We published this fact as a threesome and to this day our "amendment" has not found its way into academic textbooks. The genius of Sienkiewicz prevails irresistibly over intellect.

[Question] I am thinking of a yet slightly different situation. Professor, can you imagine results from historical investigations which it would be better not to publish--better for the public, that is, for us all?

[Answer] The same rules of scholarship that obtain in other studies bind historians; however, history fulfills a particular social role and exerts a more far-reaching influence on society's notions than other studies do. To answer the question straightforwardly: if we obtain certain results, it is necessary to communicate them to the consciousness of society.

[Question] Always? Perhaps there are some times when one should not publish certain results? This is, of course, related to another question: What do we expect from history--that it be an instructor for life or that it bring consolation?

[Answer] That is very hard to determine. I will say something which could bring a thunderbolt down upon my head. It seems to me that there are situations and times in the life of a nation when it could be necessary to suppress for several years the announcement of a truth which might be harmful to historical consciousness. What do I mean by "harmful to historical consciousness"? At a difficult or tragic time it would not be advisable, probably, to publish something which deepens pessimism, which allows us to suspect the inevitability of our distresses, compels us to ask hesitatingly whether Poles can regain

independence. Speaking briefly, I seriously doubt that it is permissible for a historian--a Polish historian--to propagate pessimism. This does not at all mean that one is free to regard the past uncritically and irresponsibly. But it is one matter to draw suitable conclusions from the tragic lessons of history, another to distill hopelessness. The latter I would consider a certain kind of crime against one's own country.

[Question] Would you establish an ethical norm for historians from this conviction?

[Answer] In ethical questions, almost everything depends on the individual's conscience and character. Our circle takes a lively interest in these matters, as evidenced, for example, by the very absorbing publications of Professor Kieniewicz on ethics in the historian's profession, but no one has formulated rules--I do not know if they would be necessary--to oblige everyone.

[Question] I think that for every scholarly circle there are enough of those most general rules which we all ought to observe--there remain those rules somewhat adjusted to specific situations arising in a certain profession or a certain specialization. I would like to ask which of these general rules a historian should observe above all.

[Answer] The foundation of a historian's ethics is independence. A historian must be independent in his judgments. Every court historian, regardless of his epoch, sooner or later will unavoidably transgress against this commandment and will begin to swerve from what we call historical truth, which, however, could call for a more precise definition.

[Question] A certain part of historical truth also comes from the views of the one who seeks it and voices it...

[Answer] The views simply must be in accord with conscience, and precisely for that reason, independent. One cannot sit down to work with an objective defined from the outset, with the assumption that the work will lead to such and such conclusions. Only honest investigations together with an interpretation of facts which is consistent with the general world view of the given investigator can lead to conclusions that we acknowledge as scholarly truth. If a historian is dependent on any external factors whatsoever--this could be a crude material dependence but also a convulsive adherence to this or that methodology--then inevitably he will find himself at a dead end--as an investigator and above all as a person.

[Question] Is total independence possible, given the circumstances of the central administration of learning?

[Answer] It is obviously very difficult. It depends all the more on character, on--I would say--the strength of internal convictions. A historian who has enough of this strength is able to work in harmony with his or her conscience and simultaneously not do anything which would render work in the profession impossible. If he resigns his independence, he stops being a historian, regardless of what property he has or with what capacities he is endowed.

[Question] Does the community of historians prize independence highly as an attribute of its profession?

[Answer] I have lived many years and have worked much as a historian, so I can say that from 1956 at least, from the October turning point, receptivity to these matters has been great--also among youth. I see this very clearly.

[Question] A considerable portion of the very young--I am thinking of undergraduates--are becoming teachers. The greater their receptivity, the harder the moral dilemmas through which they live.

[Answer] This is connected with the study, and still more with the teaching, of most recent history, and I believe that it will yet be the cause of more than one conflict, more than one personal tragedy. (---) [Law of 31 July 1981 on the control of publications and exhibitions, article 2, point 1 (DZIENNIK USTAW No 20, item 99, amended 1983 DZIENNIK USTAW No 44, item 204)]. The more so in that teachers encounter the knowledge that students bring from home or from independent readings.

[Question] But this is cheering, is it not?

[Answer] It does not resolve the conflict, however. We know well that it is possible to destroy a nation by taking away its history. It is possible to take away its history in various ways, by simply stopping historical instruction, or even by concealing a number of facts and presenting certain others in a false light. Despite not being a teacher, I am unsettled when I think about what will happen if we do not deal with this.

[Question] How?

[Answer] It is not enough, of course, to erase certain pages from books and to write in others, but assuredly we must abolish certain taboos and throw light on certain facts as documents show them to be, not as one wants to see them.

[Question] Is an unequivocal appraisal of facts still fresh in our minds possible?

[Answer] It is by no means a question of such an appraisal. Let historians dispute. Let one be free to praise Pilsudski, another free to censure him. Let one group idolize Witos, another criticize him. Let someone indicate Dmowski's merits, someone else his negative traits, and so on. Only from a genuine discussion, unconstrained by any unessential factors, can a picture closer to historical truth arise. The attainment of this truth is, in my opinion, impossible. We ought, however, to be concerned about getting as close to it as possible.

[Question] Something from such a picture should be made more widespread. At least the information about the fact that disputes are revolving around certain national events, figures and situations.

[Answer] Certainly. This is a very difficult task which the entire historical Polish world and the entire society confront.

[Question] The figures and situations of the past--this does not now concern just the most recent history, though that is included--enter national mythology, undergoing, in the process, a necessary impoverishment, sometimes even a falsification. What should the historian's role in this be?

[Answer] In the first place, discrimination. So I discriminate between myth, which in its very name suggests something negative, and legend, which is an important element in the collective imagination. I believe that historical legend is very necessary for a society like ours. It should not, however, cause a decline in self-criticism or criticism in relation to the past, a decline which sometimes threatens.

[Question] Legend should not become the only valid model.

[Answer] Quite right. A legend about a certain figure--and we have many wreathed in legend--if only it does not falsify knowledge about this figure, does not falsify the evaluations established by investigation, is a necessary therapeutic, frankly, for a nation finding itself in such a situation as ours. I disagree with the statement that it is usually a likeness existing for the use of later generations which does not have much in common with one's own model. I am convinced--I am speaking of the great historical legends--that it is a matter of prominent figures in some measure emanating the stuff of legend. Can we say that legend fabricated Czarniecki, Sobieski, Kosciuszko, Traugutt, Pilsudski? It is they who created the legends of our past history. No historical mediocrity has succeeded in this way.

[Question] Will legend draw on Sobieski again?

[Answer] I think that he will always remain the symbol of the greatness and independence of Poland, of her important place in Europe. This legend will last yet through many generations.

[Interviewer] I believe that your book, Professor, adds to Jan III's likeness many new features of a politician who understood internal needs deeply and who endeavored to reform the republic. Both these traits have gone into the legend. Thank you for the interview.

#### Historian Refuses Award

Krakow TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY in Polish No 39, 25 Sep 83 p 5

[Letter to Jerzy Turowicz, editor-in-chief of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY]

[Text] Dear editor:

In July 1983 I received first prize from the Ministry of Culture and Art in the sphere of literature for my book "Jan Sobieski 1629-1696." While fully appreciating how creditable it is for me to win so highly valued a prize--which, I

do not conceal, pleased me greatly--nonetheless, I have reached the conclusion that in the present situation I cannot accept it. My views on most fundamental matters differ so much from the officially promoted ones that my acceptance of said prize would be mere dishonesty on my part.

Please accept the expression of my deepest regard,

[Signed] Zbigniew Wojcik, historian.

12460  
CSO: 2600/71

PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Ideological Party Indoctrination

Bialystok GAZETA WSPOLCZESNA in Polish 13 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

/Article by Ryszard Klimaszewski: "When Knowledge Is A Weapon"; passage enclosed in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ /Making Hajnowka rather than, say, Bialystok the venue for the inauguration of a new year of party training was no accident. As this reporter noted several months ago, the 1,600-strong party organization of this working-class city had achieved tangible success in elevating the political and economic knowledge of its members, as well as nonparty members, to a higher level. Secretary Kolodziejuk emphasized this fact with appreciation for the KM /city committee/ of the party, instructors, lecturers and students./

The last academic year was marked by considerable results in the entire party organization of Bialystok Province. After vigorous criticisms of the attitude of a certain segment of the party membership and the exposure of shortcomings of many primary party organizations made in the course of the reports-program campaign, more attention was turned to the need to renew and perfect ideologico-political indoctrination. A program adopted by the executive board of the KW /provincial committee/ which took into account the needs and interests of the provincial organization, of particular organizations and communities was essential in this regard.

First of all, the efforts were focused on the comprehensive indoctrination of party members by means of ideological meetings. Training embraced /1,470 basic party organizations and enterprise committees, or almost 90 percent of all organizations in the province/. Seven topics from the cycle "Fundamental Problems of the PZPR Program and Policy" were discussed. It should be mentioned that a majority of POP's /Basic Party Organizations/ covered the study program in its entirety.

Ideological meetings were supplemented by /training topical for the specific community and needs of the area/. It included blue-collar workers, employees of culture and education, members of youth and social organizations. For example,

economic courses, primarily on the economic reform, including the anti-inflationary and savings programs, were offered to the workers.

Various forms of training were developed among the party aktiv. About 480 comrades improved their knowledge in 23 branches of the WUML [Evening University of Marxism-Leninism], including 6 at enterprises. Important issues were incorporated into study programs, such as principles of organizing the trade union movement, PRON /Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth/, ideological struggle, PRL /Polish People's Republic/ policy toward religion, the role and tasks of party organizations in urban and rural areas.

Therefore, the last academic year undoubtedly brought about the ideological and organizational strengthening of the party in Bialystok Province. However, 167 POP's were regrettably not covered by indoctrination activites; indoctrination of party candidates and junior party members was in bad shape and indoctrination was treated formally in some organizations. It is known that the ideologico-political situation in individual basic party organizations is complicated and varied, especially in numerically weak and rural organizations. Not all of the organizations are providing leadership in their community..

The course of indoctrination in Lomza and Suwalki Provinces was similar to that in Bialystok. The party echelons of these regions also targeted political and socioeconomic realities in their study programs, as was mentioned at meetings in Lomza and Elk. In this way, the seminars and courses became more interesting and stimulated discussion.

It can be expected that last year's achievements and experience will bear fruit through a higher efficiency of work of the basic party elements, which are pivotal to the results of activity of the party as a whole. /Indoctrination makes it possible to acquire indepth knowledge of processes, phenomena and facts, it widens our vision of life in its entirety and arms us with scientific information which is so badly needed in everyday interpersonal contacts/. The more information one has, the easier it is for him to speak out and take a stand on diverse opinions, for example, regarding the economic reform, provisioning and prices, activities of the administration and so on. It is no accident that production results are better than elsewhere in enterprises where POP's and individual party members vigorously put forth and advocate the ideas and goals of the party. Such party members reinforce the confidence of the working people in the policy of the party by listening to remarks and opinions, responding to them in a way favorable to the work forces and persuading people in cases of doubts and indecision.

Marian Orzechowski, secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, stressed in his speech before the participants of the meeting in Hajnowka the close link between party indoctrination and the tasks the party is carrying out. /The overcoming of crisis phenomena/ is the main goal, vital for the attitude of the working class. Therefore, the issues of diligent work, social justice and struggle against social ills of every description must be constantly kept within the field of vision and activity of every party element. Party inspiration and control are necessary in all spheres of the life and work of the nation in the course of the struggle for the posture of the people and the future of socialist Poland.

We know how many weighty issues are now pervading individual communities. They are fueled and exacerbated by internal and external enemies. Therefore, now that we have put the worst behind us and are approaching better days, we must still counteract all attempts at confusing minds and the functioning of the state-social organism. We can come out of the critical economic situation more smoothly and efficiently by reinforcing ideological indoctrination activities in basic party elements and, via these elements, in particular communities.

Making an impact on the attitudes of working people, influencing their posture, winning them over for participation in the PRON and for trade union activites are great and complex tasks requiring activities in the sphere of human consciousness. Due to this, the need arises to familiarize oneself with the Marxist-Leninist principles, the party statute and program. Developing the ability to evaluate political and ideological phenomena is most important, as /the first secretary of the PZPR KW in Suwalki, Waldemar Berdyga,/ justly stated at the inauguration of the academic year. In advocating the rationale of the party and the socialist state, members of the party must be armed with convincing arguments.

The still unsatisfactory situation in quite a few POP's suggests the necessity to propagate Marxist-Leninist knowledge and the party line. While giving evidence of the increasing activity of their comrades, secretaries of many POP's admit that there are passive party members too, who shirk the duties entrusted to them. Most often they explain it away by the lack of relevant qualifications and knowledge.

Some conclusions with regard to discipline and quality of indoctrination are suggested by the evaluation of last year's indoctrination and conversations with lecturers and instructors. First, it is the duty of every party member to improve his ideological and economic knowledge in the context of tasks ensuing from the struggle against the enemy, economic reforms and national understanding. Second, the changes occurring in the process of democracy and reform necessitate an improvement in the methods of indoctrination work with a view to linking it to the practical aspect of party activities.

During my conversation with the comrades at the Hajnowka meeting, they expressed their hopes for the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee, which will be dedicated exactly to the focal ideologicopolitical problems of party activity. In the opinion of my interlocutors, this plenum should facilitate the consolidation and strengthening of party organizations.

I wholeheartedly subscribe to this view. However, the opportunities for improvement and success are not rooted solely in resolutions and programs. Since it was stated in unison in Bialystok, Lomza and Suwalki that the system of indoctrination from last year proved itself, this system should be carried on and enriched by up-to-date content.

## Party Ideology in Workers' Class

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 14 Oct 83 pp 3, 4

/Article by Zenon Skuza: "Party Ideology--the Interests of the Working Class as the Essence of Party Conviction"; passages in slantlines printed in boldface/

/Text/ /The party, its ideology, as well as the theoretical background of revolutionary movement have come and are coming under furious attack by political adversaries. All aspects have been and are being used to this end, all methods and means have been and are being used for the trivialization and belittling of the importance of this movement, with the sole intention of dampening its impact on the social masses. This is no accident. Since the revolutionary theory of social development became the rationale behind the activity of the working class, since the Marxist party became the force organizing this class and spearheading its struggle for achieving its goals, since ideology became the compass directing these activities, since "the specter of Communism haunting Europe," to use the words of the creators of the Communist Manifesto, ceased to be a projection of /future/ development and became the real prospect of socioeconomic development in many countries of the socialist community--since that time, these attacks assumed an increasingly organized and even institutionalized character./

I

Socialism has been and is assailed in the theoretical, ideological and practical aspects. Historical experience suggests that in different periods of time, different spheres had to bear the brunt of this assault. This is to say that sometimes primarily the theoretical foundation was attacked (hence the numerous attempts at "upgrading" Marxism-Leninism, hence the multitude of revisionist concepts), sometimes, the ideology, value systems, goals and on yet other occasions, the real experience of socialist construction, the essence of party activity, party convictions or the processes of transformation, promoted by the party and rooted in the principles of doctrine.

Perhaps the most furious and systematic attacks are directed exactly at the party convictions understood as a set of norms, principles and rules of behavior of the party and its membership in the process of solving essential problems issuing from socialist construction, the style of activity, the mode of thinking, the prism through which reality is seen. /Marxism, as the theoretical base of the revolutionary movement, turned out to be a doctrine which was especially difficult to defeat. On the contrary, it revealed that due to this doctrine we find new, previously unknown opportunities for gaining knowledge about and transforming the real environment and that all past and present attempts at defeating it end in failure. Socialist ideology, which is a form of translating the essence of this theory into the language of concrete needs and actions, of desires and aspirations, also does not present an object susceptible to a

victorious attack./ In view of this, the sphere of practice turned out to be the weakest link. The assault on this sphere, the belittling of the thrust and essence of achievements and especially the exaggeration of mistakes were to prove that the doctrine offers an unrealistic vision of developmental processes and ideology is intended only to camouflage it. This assault is still underway. It originates from the outside, and is also initiate by domestic forces. Moreover, these assaults have been gathering strength for quite a while. After all, the struggle against socialism is the basic goal of the West. These phenomena and facts should not come as a surprise to us, since it has become clear that class struggle is occurring today in the capitalism-socialism dimension and also has an internal dimension to it. Being aware of the existence of these phenomena, we should undertake consequent action in order to minimize the impact of erosion.

## II

It is an undeniable fact that our practice of socialist construction has on many occasions made this struggle easier for the antisocialist forces both inside and outside our country. It is also a fact that we did not always perceive in time the threat to us emanating from various modes of activity and attempts at "defending" Marxism, upgrading it, from the so-called reformist actions pushing us and our party into social democratic positions, as well as the real thrust of activities and practices aimed at "softening up" Marxism, eroding it and breaking it up. It is also a fact that from a theoretical standpoint, in the ideological dimension and in the sphere of political practice as well, we were not always capable of counteracting resolutely the prompting of our alleged allies, the content of their allegedly well-intentioned advice and admonitions aimed at throwing the ideological sphere into confusion and disarray. All too often, while viewing and evaluating our performance, we desired to see a pure idyll in this process. We also permitted this idyllic vision to be forced on us more than once, taking no account at the same time of the basic premise that the process of implementing a revolutionary program of structural changes has never been, is not, and will not be an idyll, that long duration, orderliness and attainment of goals by trial and error are inherently characteristic of this process. In other words, in the course of this process, which after all is exposed to most varied strains, a definite type of mistake, a distortion and degeneration should occur quite naturally. Never and nowhere have developmental processes taken a different course, especially the processes resulting from revolutionary transformations.

Objectively, the notion of "party conviction" as a rule conjured up negative connotations in the social consciousness in the immediate postwar years. There is a rational explanation for this fact. The program of the PPR /Polish Workers Party/ and its activity were branded with infamy by political adversaries. Despite its undeniable achievements in both the years of Hitlerite occupation and the first years of the people's power, many influential communities took a decidedly negative view of the party. The party itself, its membership and leadership were not spared the most diverse pejorative invectives.

Those were the years of fierce class struggle. It is no surprise that in that period the party leading the process of revolutionary transformation, its program

and activity--and exactly these facts were what determined the essence of party convictions--always conjured up the overcoming of the old world and consequent implementation of progress in all spheres of life. This was negatively perceived and evaluated by both the previously privileged classes, the ideologies of this class and significant segments of Polish society, including the party of the working class and peasantry which did not understand the thrust and content of the processes underway, interpreting them as immediately dangerous for the people, themselves and the state. There is no need to conceal the fact that it was especially vigorously opposed by the segment of the creative intelligentsia which played the role of the bard of the departing epoch, the "creator" of all kinds of PPSisms /Polish Socialist Party/, SDisms, NDisms /National Democratic Party/ and jingoisms, in the words of Stefan Zeromski. It proceeded from the principle that due to its position between classes in the social structure and its professionalism it occupies a special place in the life of the nation, that in view of this it is the only force preordained to elaborate the programs of development for the entire nation and the ideology standing above class divisions, as well as to formulate unverified views and opinions of occurring social processes. At the time, many Poles were under the spell of this peculiar myth.

This attitude toward the party, toward party convictions facilitated the struggle of the forces hostile to socialism against the process of socialist transformation in our country, against socialist ideology. It disposed or could dispose unfavorably those who were disoriented or hesitant about the socialist development alternatives. Let us keep it in mind that trivializing and spoofing the goals, content, essential objectives of socialist construction and methods has long been a proven and effective form of struggle against values just beginning to be assimilated by mass consciousness. The same knacks and techniques were used by the leaders of Solidarity shortly after the end of the Ninth Extraordinary PZPR Congress, who tried to deprecate its historic significance for the party and the people, the importance of its resolutions and the realism of the program of overcoming the crisis and socioeconomic development worked out by the congress.

We would be intentionally mystifying the process of objectivization of the essence of party convictions in social consciousness if we omitted the experiences of the first half of the 1950's which also testify--alas--against the party. It is a fact that the changes in its essence and consequently in the style of party activity and the style of thinking in general, amounting to a departure from the Leninist notion of party convictions, facilitated the struggle against socialist ideology and armed political adversaries with arguments. After all, modifications in the essence of party convictions were logical consequences of the progressing process of changes in the life of the party, primarily, the triumph of the sectarian-dogmatic forces, the predominance of practices which brought about degeneration and deformation of life, the degradation of the goals of socialism in the minds of a sizable segment of Polish society and the loss of confidence in its party by the working class. The scope of these changes became evident as early as the end of 1948, when the sectarian-dogmatic wing disposed of the phantom of the so-called rightist-nationalist deviation in the party it had called up. The advent of the type of party functionary which is now described by the words "party dignitary" or "Jack-in-office" was the most striking manifestation of these changes. (This fact was fraught with consequences. To this day, a considerable measure of mistrust of the party and party convictions results exactly from this.)

### III

The party managed to shake off these accretions which were alien to Marxism, revolutionary practice and the Leninist notion; however,...the mistrust and prejudice remained. The mistrust, prejudice and apprehension were not totally dispelled by the October turning point, though much was done to restore the initial Leninist content and scope to the notion of "party convictions." The apprehensions and mistrust, though less acute, lingered on despite party convictions being associated at the time with sensitivity to injustice, ability to understand the worries, apprehensions, fears, doubts, desires and aspirations of the people, the need for the party to step in wherever the discrepancy arose or could arise between doctrine and social practice; the ability to carry on a dialog with the populace; the need to democratize internal party and social mechanisms; the creation of structural safeguards for the preservation of the achievements of the renewal of the principle of centralism. It was all the more so due to the reappearance of situations bordering on pathology in political practice and to actions running counter to the revolutionary doctrine increasingly becoming commonplace. It so happened that the model party functionary, a representative of people's power, had increasingly less in common with the type or exemplary personality of a communist activist with traits such as modesty, receptiveness, diligence, integrity, reliability, responsibility, nonconformism, criticism, consistence, political imagination, the ability to think of his own party and country in political categories, militant need to combat all forms of abuse of law and power and particularism.

In any event, regardless of negative experience, the party convictions always amounted to: /the ability to carry on a dialog between the party and the working class, to benefit by its intelligence and the pointers as to "what" should be done and "how" in order to properly fulfill the aspirations and aims of the working class and the people and in order to be able to release the latent intellectual potential of the entire society, to use to the utmost simple and complex reserves, democratization of the party's internal and social activity, the improvement of the system of socialist democracy through reinforcing the role and significance of its constituent elements./ It also means the reconstruction of self-government in urban and ruling areas, the reinforcement of the decisionmaking and control functions of social institutions and trade unions, especially with regard to trade unions as a partner of the party in the struggle for the interests of the working class. It also means the ability to set up systems safeguarding our life against the recurrence of pathology, the ability to initiate actions which result in the genuine integration of the people, the capacity to set realistic goals and draw programs of socioeconomic development.

The party convictions have always meant and still mean today the necessity to tell the truth to the people about the state of our economy, our opportunities and the threat to us, both internal and external, the revealing of forces and factors which accelerate development or which can hinder it. It meant and means the ability to make even the most unpopular decisions in the interests of the country and the people, if making such decisions would foster the creation of a proper working and living environment. The party convictions are a struggle against all attempts at mystifying reality, exaggeration, pseudoideology of "self-satisfaction" or practices of "it will work out somehow" and "after us, the

flood may come." The party conviction in the Leninist interpretation has always meant (and now all of us are fully aware of it) the need to discuss with the populace all important decisions on the future of the country, adherence to the principle that nothing should be undertaken without genuine participation of the people in matters and issues fundamental to the people.

It meant and means the ability to conduct an appropriate personnel policy, the necessity to control systematically and attentively the functioning of all elements and spheres of life. It means the necessity to hold the people designated by the party accountable for what they have done and how, the break with the principle of negative selection of cadres observed for many years, the necessity to work out a reliable mechanism of cadre rotation at every level of power and government, so as to avoid unnecessary shakeups now as well as in the future.

Party conviction also means the necessity of constantly combating political adversaries. It would be a manifestation of political naivete to assume or even conjecture that there is an idyll in Poland, that political struggle does not exist in Poland or there is no rationale for it, that nothing and nobody poses a threat to socialism in Poland in recent months when we proclaimed the program of understanding and national rebirth and are painstakingly implementing it in the period of rising international tension, the arms race forced on the world by the United States and subversive actions against socialist countries. Party conviction also means curing the delusions of those who forget even for a moment about the class character of the prism through which political and social processes in the contemporary world are viewed.

Party conviction has meant and means the ability and necessity to use one's own experience, including overcoming one's own mistakes in order to work out the most realistic developmental strategy. This is knowledge, professionalism, competence, realistic programs of socioeconomic development, tapping vigor, ingenuity and everybody's involvement in developmental processes, this is the creation of necessary conditions which will exact progress and novelty as well as innovative approaches making goods produced in our country competitive in the world market.

Party conviction means constant attention to making everything associated with the party, its activity, programs and concepts worthy of a positive evaluation by the populace, not by confection but as a result of their critical analysis, that is, their genuine value.

Party conviction means faithfulness to the cornerstones of the political system, absolute adherence to the principle that we must respect universal rules of socialist construction always and everywhere, that in our activity we will be always and everywhere guided by the superior interests of the state and the commonwealth, that under every circumstance we will combat voluntarism, opportunism and deviations of every description which result or can result in departing from Marxism.

After all, party conviction is not and has never been, especially in the Leninist interpretation, a set of permanent canons, norms, principles, rules of conduct,

admonitions or recommendations. If it is to be described in this way, this set should be permanently enriched in a way similar to the enrichment of our experience in the process of socialist construction. /Finally, party convictions denote a mode of thinking, a type of relationship between a person and a community and the real world shaped on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and, perhaps first of all, the necessity to interpret and transform reality to this end, in order to render the attainment of the most favorable conditions for personal self-realization an increasingly close and obtainable reality rather than an assumption for a time yet to come./

#### Overcoming Various Party Problems

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 14 Oct 83 pp 1, 2

/Article by (ZO): "Closing the Ranks"

/Text/ A cycle of meetings of constituent POP's /basic party organizations/ is drawing to a close in eight basic PZPR elements in Gorzow Province. The holding of these meetings was recommended by the Politico-Organizational Department of the PZPR KW /Provincial Committee/. The goal of these meetings is to reinvigorate the activity of POP's, to aid them in overcoming various organizational difficulties and also to retrain POP secretaries in leading their organizations and keeping the necessary records. The intention was primarily to eliminate many shortcomings in statutory work found during inspections and surveys and close the ranks of POP's in that way before the forthcoming report-election campaign, so as to concentrate in the course of the campaign on program tasks rather than spending time and effort on technical and organizational issues.

So far the meetings have confirmed that the political life of many POP's is "running idle." The members do not discharge their basic statutory duties, while the secretaries lack the skill of leading their work efficiently and the desire to keep the necessary records. This is also the case in the POP of the KM-G /town-and-gmina/ echelon in Drezdenko. This was confirmed by party members at the meetings. They stated that the influence of the POP on the issues in their communities or the upbringing of the youth is small. The results of the discussion were communicated to the town-gmina committee. Nonetheless, the task of eliminating weak points and reinvigorating the activity of POP's cannot be solved solely by the committee personnel, but rather by all party members.

In the gmina echelon at Boleszkowice a start should be made in strengthening the discipline in paying membership dues and in increasing the frequency of meetings and indoctrination sessions. It is difficult to acquiesce to the fact that meetings are being held only occasionally and there have been failures to pay dues for as much as even 3 months. In this echelon, only 6 meetings have been held, with attendance running at only 60 percent, which also does not testify positively to the appreciation of their duties by the POP members. Complaints about one's own inability are always going to be idle under such circumstances, if the reasons for it are not found in yourself.

This conclusion should also be drawn by the POP members working under the gmina echelon in Przytoczna. They talked about everything at their meetings, but very

little about party matters, about their own attitudes and duties. However, the discussion suggested the need for the gmina committee to take more interest in the work of POP's and for the lecturers and KW functionaries to visit the echelons more often. But how can the recommendation "to increase the prestige of the POP secretary" be fulfilled if the secretary himself often does not try to achieve it?

The need to help many weak POP's and to maintain permanent contacts between them and the functionaries of the town-gmina and provincial echelons was brought up at the meetings in Miedzychod Gmina. Forty-five POP meetings have been held there. The town-and-gmina committee is already at work on using the remarks and recommendations put forth at the meetings. In this echelon, no significant arrears in the payment of dues have occurred. However, the entire POP in the GPT /expansion unknown/ "Warta-Tourist" has built up arrears of more than 3 months. The frequency of meetings must be increased considerably, because it was determined that on the average they are held once in 2 months. There are also POP's where only one meeting has been held this year.

The course of all meetings proves that the closing of ranks must become an urgent and basic task of POP work not only in these eight, but also in many other territorial echelons where similar shortcomings also occur in a more or less acute form. The party must embark on the report-election campaign in a condition which guarantees the attainment of the goals set for the campaign.

#### Report-Election Campaign in Poznan

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 17 Oct 83 pp 1, 3

/Article by (AKO): "From the Proceedings of the Executive Board of the PZPR KW /Provincial Committee/ /

/Text/ A meeting of the Executive Board of the PZPR KW in Poznan was held on Friday.

The Executive Board reviewed the fulfillment of the tasks of housing construction in Poznan Province in 1983. The issues of housing construction have been and are the object of especially keen social interest. The magnitude of the needs as well as the limited opportunities of the province to allocate the required amounts of resources for this purpose caused the housing problem to be termed "a political problem" by the Provincial Program Conference of the PZPR.

The plan for socialized housing construction for Poznan Province in 1983 was established at the level of 5,025 apartments. This quota was accepted by the developers and constructors as the result of balancing, localization and construction capacity.

However, after 9 months have passed, only 2,856 apartments were finished by socialized housing construction units, or 56.8 percent of the yearly quota. The situation with plan fulfillment in 1-family housing construction, where this year's plan calls for 1,774 apartments, is worse yet. These data suggest that the plan quota for housing construction for this year which was set at a very low level is not going to be met in our province. It is expected that plan fulfillment will be slightly above 80 percent.

The outlined tasks are being fulfilled in the unusually difficult economic environment of the country. The problems with the structure and functioning of the economy in their turn cause many difficulties of various kinds in construction and failure to meet the plan quotas which have been already revised downward.

The following are among the major factors currently restricting housing construction: supply of materials, great labor turnover, still inadequate labor discipline and large degree of equipment depreciation. Soon this difficult situation can deteriorate still further. This is due to the lack of new lots for construction and of funds for their development.

In this difficult situation, provincial authorities are undertaking initiatives intended to alleviate the problems in question, such as the efforts to have a red ceramics plant built in Ksiaz, the construction of a porous concrete plant utilizing smoke-box ashes, the modernization of large-panel production in the PKB /Poznan Construction Combine/, the addition of the so-called Integrated Civil Construction System to the already used techniques, the work on the implementation of a cheap and easy to assemble one-family house of the "Cube" system as well as the proposal to use a portion of the enterprise housing funds to develop areas for housing construction. However, these actions are buried under an avalanche of current problems with materials, equipment and land..

The Executive Board acknowledged that the system of land dvvelopment for housing construction is in need of improvement. The deliveries of materials and goods in short supply to construction units should also be improved. The functioning and the degree of implementation of economic reform in construction and construction design enterprises should be subjected to a comprehensive review. This should result in better utilization of the potential of these enterprises. New enterprise housing cooperatives, associations for aid to one-family housing construction and persons who have decided to build their own dwelling and simultaneously opt out of cooperative construction require special care by territorial and economic administrations. Some other recommendations which should bring about an improvement in fulfilling the tasks of housing construction were also adopted.

As a second item on the agenda, the Executive Board discussed preparations for the forthcoming PZPR report-election campaign.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Warsaw Party on Social Justice

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 3 Nov 83 pp 1,7

[Article by (ws-s1)]

[Text] "Now, in the course of the reports-election campaign, an accounting of the tasks undertaken and, above all, the determination of new tasks required by current needs awaits us. The 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee provided a good basis for it. It pointed out clearly the interdependence between ideology, politics and economics."

With these words PZPR Central Committee Politburo member, Provincial Committee [KW] First Secretary Marian Wozniak introduced the discussion at the Wednesday plenum of the Warsaw Committee. The main subjects of the discussion were the main problems in the work of the Warsaw party organization resulting from the decisions of the 13th Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee, and tasks in the reports-election campaign.

Evaluating the last months, the speaker said that the party has made an important step forward on the road to regaining credibility and social support for the goals set by it. The party, however, still has a long and difficult road ahead of it. Nevertheless, it is increasingly frequent that workers are seen in party committees where they come not only with complaints or suggestions, but also out of a need to talk with the party, convinced that in this way their thoughts will reach the Provincial or Central Committee.

"Warsaw is a place of particularly intensive political struggle," continued M. Wozniak. "This requires activating and raising the rank of party training and consistent implementation of party decisions."

"Let us remember that our party has undertaken the work of reforming the socialist economy. Embarking on the reports-election campaign, we must remember that economic questions have a political and ideological dimension. Viewing things through class interests, we must reward people who are industrious and talented. We must create a proper climate and the best conditions of development for them. This gives a wide field for the initiative of party organizations both in the material sphere and in the sphere of man's moral satisfaction.

"In the course of this campaign a determined and wise activity by all party members will be of particular importance. The activity of the whole party is an enormous force. We ought to aim at putting it fully into motion, conscious of our class roots and duties toward society, toward Poland and toward the socialist community."

In evaluating the past period, one which was extremely difficult for the party, the participants in the discussion devoted a great deal of attention to the experiences of their home organizations. For example, Zenon Zapala, first secretary in the Polish Optical Plants [PZO], pointed out that the basic reason for the crises is the loss of a bond between the "tops" and the "bottoms." The factory organization has, therefore, gained much from direct talks with the workers. Not only with party members, but with people who are undecided; and political opponents. This has born fruit in the lack of divisions between work force members, and also strengthened the organization's authority. "In people's minds the feeling has formed in recent years," said Z. Zapala, "that one can turn to the party and demand that wrongs be corrected. People have a very developed sense of social justice. We cannot fail them."

The question of social justice and the bond between the party and the masses was broadly discussed by Zbigniew Ducin from the URSUS Machinery Plant. He said among other things, that in his workplace consistent implementation of the ideas of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum signifies party work that is carried out calmly, nonetheless strongly and consistently. And above all, it signifies continual listening to the opinions of the work force.

The work force in URSUS believes that the present stabilization of socioeconomic life is not strong enough and that improvement of the economy is insufficient. The reform is characterized by onesidedness, with the goal of filling up the state treasury. The battle against speculation is badly managed. As a result, "the poor continue being poor and the rich are getting richer." Such feelings create a climate of distrust of the authorities and [lead to] sharp criticism of their decisions. The political opponents can easily take advantage of people's justified anxieties.

"In view of this," said the speaker, "we must quickly conduct a concrete discussion regarding wages, prices, consultations with the working class, etc. Delaying it weakens the party and the government's credibility."

In the context of the ever widening restoration of party credibility, the criticism of the recent decisions regarding the reinstatement of butter and fats rationing sounded a bitter note. The participants in the discussion, reporting the opinions of their milieus, did not question the overall justification of the rationing; their disapproval concerned the methods, procedures and timing of its reinstatement.

The following participants, among others, spoke broadly on this issues: Stanislaw Kiljanczyk, farmer, Ryszard Jedrzejewski, Plant Committee first

secretary in the Okecie Transportation Equipment Plant [WSK], and Czeslaw Juszczyk, Plant Committee secretary in ROZA LUKSEMBURG.

Czeslaw Jajszczyk said that society identifies the administration's mistakes with the party's mistakes, because it does not distinguish between the two. The governing party evaluates the administration only up to the level of the plant director; it seems to shun evaluations higher up. Evaluations ought to include even ministers, whose economic decisions have definite political impact. The party's basic task is to represent the interests of the working class and not to defend the administration.

During the deliberations much space was devoted to ideological issues. There is much to be done in this domain, considering the neglect of the past years. The party and other circles strongly feel the need for this knowledge which is helpful in understanding social, political and economic processes. Workers increasingly are asking more questions and demanding more thorough answers. They and party organizations must have strong arguments in the battle against political opponents. Among others: Piotr Baryla, chairman of the PZPR KW Worker Commission, Henryk Gozdzik, chairman of the KW Science Team, Bogdan Michalski, head of the KW Cultural Section, and Wojciech Garstka, Presidium member of the KW Ideological Commission elaborated on this question.

Bogdan Michalski said, among other things, that the struggle for power is also a struggle for cultural heritage. We must reign over tradition, continually analyze it and struggle with oversensitivity and myths.

The question how to win strong points for the party in the course of the campaign was pondered. The Worker Commission, among others, presented the stand demanding the supremacy of politics over economics in order to obtain advantages in ideological issues. The Commission also believes that in the course of the campaign the party ought to purge itself of people who have remained in its ranks probably in order to weaken it from within.

Youth matters were also given considerable attention. Wojciech Garstka asked the question: "With what [shall we] 'buy' youth? Perhaps with radicalism? If so, youth must be given conditions for intelligent work creating progress; work with ardor, with verve, useful for the party and the country."

The participants accepted the motions and recommendations regarding the further course of the campaign in the capital party organization. Albin Siwak, Central Committee Politburo member and Jan Glowczyk, Politburo deputy member, PZPR Central Committee secretary participated in the deliberations.

#### Gdansk Party on Ideological Observance

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 3 Nov 83 p 3

[Article by Maciej Geysztor: "Conforming to the Ideological Command"]

[Text] We have waited a long time, namely 20 years,  
for a Central Committee plenum devoted to ideological

problems. Although these topics were, to a larger or smaller degree, always present in party documents (particularly since the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of the PZPR), nevertheless it has been a while since ideology was discussed so much and in such a way as at the Central Committee's 13th Plenum.

It used to vary in the past. After each historical meander there was usually talk about the severing of ideology from practice, about the instrumental treatment of ideology by the authorities then. From this point of view each social conflict in the history of the PRL can be classified in the categories of the crisis of values, as an eruption of social anger against ignoring the ideological command, a protest against the window dressing of the country's sociopolitical life.

The 12th Plenum did not initiate or end a new phase of discussion on ideological topics in the party. It really started during the Ninth Congress. I consider the stressing of the importance of the conformity of social life to the ideological principles of socialism, and the necessity to unify ideology, politics and economics in the actions of party echelons and organizations as the greatest achievement of that plenum.

The resolution pointing out the current and closest directions of ideological work in the party does not, perhaps, satisfy those who expected that it would be a cure for all the party's weaknesses. They have evidently forgotten that although a wrong directive can squander the products of human labor, even the best resolution will be of little help if it is not implemented honestly and consistently.

The complex of views, ideas, philosophical, political, social and ethical conceptions which we call ideology, is not and cannot be disconnected from everyday reality. We often do not even realize that when talking about the need for agreement and for consolidation of all of the nation's progressive forces in order to lead the country out of the crisis, about the necessity of an unequivocal tying of wages to the results of work, respecting the principles of social justice, and fighting all distortions of social life, we really are talking about ideology: people's power, socialist democracy, and egalitarianism.

It is therefore not an accident that the materials of the 13th Plenum refer not only to ideological education in the party, but also to the reform, social consultations, elections to the Sejm and people's councils, the Church, trade unions, and youth. These are also matters of ideology.

Defining the place in which we currently find ourselves, summing up what we have achieved and what we have not yet achieved, are also connected with the expectations of the results of the 13th Plenum. Although the plenum has not yet adopted the final version of its ideological-programmatic declaration: "What we are fighting for, where we are going" (this is to be done by a higher body--next year's national conference), it has nevertheless made an attempt to define the current stage of development in Poland.

The report of the Central Committee Politburo says: "We have realized in Poland the majority of tasks of the transitory stage from capitalism to socialism (...). "Social solutions and benefits which can be counted as part of the phase of highly developed socialism, have been introduced in many fields," although "there are also areas of transformation that are not advanced but delayed."

It is true that the dynamism of the country's socioeconomic growth outpaced the rate of transformations in social consciousness and that we are dealing with an irregularity in socialist development. It is also true that in the past four decades we have not only lifted the country from the ruins into which the invader had plunged it, but we have also made a leap of which generations of Poles could only have dreamed.

From a mainly agricultural country we have become an industrial-agricultural one; we have eliminated illiteracy, introduced general and free education and health service, built thousand of industrial plants and housing colonies, created millions of new jobs and eliminated unemployment.

Big industry gave work to 5 million people, who could not have been fed by Poland's overpopulated countryside before World War II. Those who glorify the Second Republic ought to be reminded that industrial production in the whole 20 years between the wars did not exceed the output from the year 1913. When talking today about the unfavorable impact of the country's industrialization and urbanization, we should bear that in mind.

Ideology is also a question of the conformity of words and actions, attitudes and behavior--declared and actual ones; [a question] of the right people in the right positions. Not only in the highest ones; people on top of power are subject to broad everyday social evaluation. The guidelines formulated by the 13th Plenum in relation to cadre policy are unequivocal. No one who can be useful in a management position ought to be hampered by the lack of a PZPR membership card. Youth cannot be an obstacle either--the effects of work in a concrete position count above all. This of course does not mean that the party renounces its influence in shaping the cadre policy, which is an important tool in the realization of its leadership function in the state. However, more important than party membership in a candidate for a managerial position are ideological-moral attitude (involvement in the realization of the party's programmatic line, and honesty), professional knowledge, organizational skills and the ability to work with people.

The third point of the 13th Plenum resolution specifies the tasks whose aim is to secure the dominating role of Marxism-Leninism in the country's intellectual life, shape the socialist consciousness, and develop educational work among youth. At issue are directions as well as concrete undertakings, such as the initiative of convening the Second National Theoretical-Ideological Party Conference and National Conference of Social and Humanist Sciences prior to the PZPR Tenth Congress, and the Politburo's analysis of the complex program binding scientific plans with the most important ideological problems.

I consider particularly important the commitment made by the Central Committee to hold a plenary session next year, which will determine the long term conceptions of development of the national education system in the PRL. We have been waiting for such a concrete and internally cohesive system for nearly 40 years. If we are talking today about shakiness of views, consumer attitudes of passivity by a large part of the young generation, this is also the result of many years of educational neglect. Although education begins at home, the role of school, college or youth organization in this process cannot be underestimated.

The amount of current knowledge of the state, society, and the laws governing social progress is insufficient among the youth graduating from schools. In order to secure the proper merging of teaching functions with educational duties, the educational system must first be guaranteed a continuous supply of properly trained teaching cadres. It is necessary to create further advantages for people choosing the beautiful and responsible profession of teacher. Along with advantages, however, the qualification standards must also be raised.

Related to this also is the need to raise the level and effectiveness of ideological instruction within the party. Instruction--whether it is general or carried out in Evening Universities of Marxism-Leninism, in courses or in party schools, ought to guarantee the listeners the possibility of acquiring solid knowledge, stimulate their intellectual activity and provide an opportunity for an unrestrained exchange of views.

It is a problem of cadres, funds and the organization of instructional work. What is needed is professional lecturer cadres, combining knowledge with the ability to pass it on, and well equipped centers of ideological-educational work in regional echelons and enterprises--especially the latter. The centers cannot struggle alone, as they do now, with cadre difficulties and housing problems, left at the mercy of plant administrative management. They ought to initiate and coordinate the ideological activity in their communities, by organizing courses and training, using visual means of propaganda, plant press and local broadcast stations. In the countryside, regional centers of party work have an important role to play in this respect.

The economy--according to some--is a field which has little in common with ideology. After all, it is ruled by the laws of economics: supply, demand, competition... How illusory are such convictions! It is precisely the irregularities and stumbling of the economic reform being implemented now which provide the proofs refuting such statements on a daily basis.

What else but a violation of the principle of social justice is the situation in which the interest of a group (enterprise or its work force) comes into collision with the interest of society at large, when by taking advantage of the shortage of certain goods in the market their prices are hiked in a way unjustified by production costs? What else is parasitic or downright

criminal manner of living at our expense by certain circles? What is it but a distortion of the concept of egalitarianism to demand dividing equally instead of according to the effects of the work input? How silly and demagogic sound in this context such declarations as: "What do I care about ideology if I cannot put it into the pot?"

On 4th of November of the current year, a plenum of the PZPR Provincial Committee will deliberate in Gdansk. It will define the tasks of the provincial echelon and party organization resulting from the decisions of the 13th Plenum of the Central Committee. The objective is to adjust the contents of these documents to the specific conditions of the coastal region, losing nothing of the spirit and letter of these documents, and enrich them in the course of discussion by the motions and observations of the aktiv working in this area. From 26-28 October, conferences were taking place in the regional echelons, during which materials prepared for the plenary session were consulted.

The scope of the tasks proposed in the program report of the Provincial Committee Executive and in the schedule of the realization of the Central Committee's 13th Plenum is very broad. It includes, apart from ideological-propaganda activities, tasks concerning cooperation between the PZPR and other social forces which accept the socialist system, tightening the bonds between the party and the working people, strengthening the socialist state, developing democracy and further broadening the agreement between the patriotic forces of the nation. Finally, there are proposals for definite undertakings--for example, the formation of a provincial center for instruction of marxist cadres or organizing the Second Provincial Ideological Conference. The plenum will decide their final form.

#### Joint Party Tasks for Everyone

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 4 Nov 83 pp 1,4

[Article by (sc)]

[Text] The reports-election campaign in branch and basic party organizations [OOP and POP] of Gorzow Province has gathered momentum. Over 40 meetings of the OOP and POP have already taken place in various communities and professional groups, and despite the discussion on a considerable variety of topics and problems it is possible to single out common trends in the deliberations.

The participants in the meetings devoted considerable attention to internal party matters: evaluation of the Party's strength and position in the community, discipline and observance of the statutory principles by members, and the effectiveness of daily work serving the realization of the decisions and motions of the OOP and POP and of higher echelons.

In reference to the course of the PZPR Central Committee's 13th Plenum, the need to intensify and improve the political education of party members was widely emphasized. This was discussed at the POP meeting in the Gmina Bureau

in Boleszkowice, and it was pointed out that each meeting must center around a selected, current instructional topic. In order to improve the quality of instruction, the PZPR Provincial Committee was asked to direct a large number of lecturers to basic echelons and party organizations. At the meeting of that POP it was also pointed out that each member ought to be assigned a party task.

Another reports-election meeting in Boleszkowice Gmina took place in the POP of the Gmina Consolidating School. At that meeting there was much talk about the education of the young generation, difficult work conditions in rural education, and ideological attitudes of teacher-party members. Many of them spare no time and effort to carry out extracurricular work with youth. This social involvement, however, has a negative impact on their earnings. The education department must attend to this problem urgently. The party organization in that school has taken upon itself the creation of scouting and union organizations. Without these locals it is difficult to realize educational tasks and improve teachers' working and living conditions.

OOP and POP meetings at workplaces also discuss, apart from intraparty problems, the current socioeconomic situation, progress in the implementation of the reform, enterprise savings programs, and ways of executing production plans for next year. The meetings also demonstrate that joint plans resulting from evaluations and adopted program decisions, must be farmed out as individual tasks to each party member. Only in this way the still frequent passivity of many comrades in their work milieus will be eliminated.

#### Krosno Province Plenum

Krakow DZIENNIK POLSKI in Polish 4 Nov 83 p 2

[Article by (kam): "Citizens' Complaints and Motions Must Receive Better Attention"]

[Text] (Own service) With what [problems] do citizens usually turn to the party and the administration? What must be done in order to improve service for the residents of the province? These were the subjects of yesterday's deliberations by the Party Provincial Committee plenum in Krosno. Participants in the plenum were: Albin Siwak, Central Committee Politburo member, chairman of the Central Committee's Commission for Complaints, Motions and Signals from the Population, Brig Gen Czeslaw Dega, director of the PZPR Central Committee's Foreign Section, Col Marian Kot, director of the Central Committee's Bureau of Letters and Inspections, and Jan Jablonski, deputy minister of administration and land economy.

Most of the complaints--it was pointed out--concern matters of housing and municipal issues, the work of state administration, and land trading. Numerous examples of mismanagement, wastefulness and bad distribution of building materials are reported. People protest against excessive and not always honest enrichment of certain professional groups.

Among the sources of criticism is the unconscientious fulfillment of duties by administrative employees. The new system of training and testing the professional qualifications of state administrative personnel is being implemented in the province, which may somewhat improve the situation.

Not all issues are really difficult. Some issues, which had dragged on for months, were resolved right away after an intervention by the PRON Provincial Council, for example. The participants in the discussion also pointed out the low level of legal counseling for town and country residents.

In concluding the deliberations, Albin Siwak took the floor. The opinions of the Provincial Committee plenum found their expression in a resolution.

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PROONENTS OF ECONOMIC PROTECTIONISM RIDICULED

Warsaw TU I TERAZ in Polish No. 40, 5 Oct 83 p 3

[Article by Jan Rem: "Mob Rule; Retrogression"]

[Text] The weekly LAD, a regular patron of this column, has unexpectedly expressed great admiration for economic liberalism (No 38). It supported free trade but attacked protectionism, namely proexport subsidies, as well as antiexport protective customs duties. Such an economic creed is somewhat surprising in a periodical that, for example, defends the ancient church inquisition, or, to change the subject, demands an intensified overprotective policy from our nation. Somehow this does not at all make sense.

Controversies on whether to use economic liberalism or protectionism are almost three times as old as the Eiffel Tower. They occupy the domain of economic theoreticians and are of no interest to me. Besides, no economic liberalism in its true form functions anywhere in the world today. Without rhyme or reason LAD became enchanted with free trade, I imagine only because from this position it was possible to attack the proexport policy of our government.

Paradise, as I recall, depended on the fact that in the midst of perfect nature there lived a couple of naked people whose only responsibility was to refrain from eating apples. If we accept this as a classic model we will easily condemn all that presently exists: not only the wearing of clothing and the eating of apple pie, but also the driving of autos, the use of ballpoint pens or the telephone, social security and international policy. Paradise never anticipated this; therefore, they are departures from the ideal model. On similar principles LAD's author of the text "Export dla Krola Prus" ["Exports to the King of Prussia"], Janusz Korwin-Mikke, condemns our economic policy: it has no place in the heaven of laissez faire, and is hence worthless.

Korwin-Mikke plants, if you'll pardon the expression, miscellaneous nonsense which it is even shameful to refute with the truth. For example, he states: "...every machine, Christmas tree ornament, ton of coal or hog transported abroad does not represent a profit, but rather a loss." This is typical of the reasoning of a good number of our troglodytes who are incapable of thinking in economic terms, and their only comments are: "There is no pork roast because

it was exported." An appreciation of the fact that something is sold in order to buy and enjoy something else in exchange surpasses the reasoning capacities of some people.

Korwin-Mikke says that unprofitable export transactions are being conducted in the world, because their calculations were incomplete. This is an obvious truth. Furthermore, he states: "If Minister Krasinski enforces price reforms, then, for example, the import of sugar from France to Poland and the export of Polish wines to France will become profitable." And he adds that international exchange will become absurd. Supposedly why? Price reforms tend to base them on economic principles, hence it leads to economic rationalization of the balance of trade. This is more than obvious. The LAD author says that international exchange, based on prices artificially created, renders impossible a true calculation of profitability and at the same time he states that it will be yet worse if prices begin to reflect cost accounting. Why? Because attempts to enumerate the actual cost involved in producing something are hopeless, and so there should be no exporting at all because there is no sufficiently good guarantee that it is profitable. Indeed, every possible calculation of the cost of production can only be approximated, because every estimate that is "run" must be terminated somewhere. (For example, an estimate of the cost of wicker baskets does not include the price of eliminating mosquitoes but if the mosquitoes were to bite the willow twig choppers, they would work less briskly). For this reason, therefore, Korwin-Mikke regards every export as pointless. In other words, one should resort to an autarkic economy, or further still--a natural one, but I suppose one should retreat even further, take to the trees and await the regeneration of our tails!

LAD's economic journalist also discourages us from engaging in international exchange because it is objectively impossible to consummate an optimum transaction. If the profit from it, he explains, amounts to 6 percent and we regard that as profitable, then there still always exists the theoretical possibility that another transaction would have produced, for example, a 20 percent profit; therefore, it would be more profitable. In resorting to such reasoning as a practical policy it can likewise be maintained that a man should never marry. Because if he falls in love with a beautiful woman who is full of humor, wise, thrifty and affluent, he has no guarantee that as a result of this marriage he will lose the opportunity to wed another lady in possession of the same even more fully developed attributes. In a philosophical sense, Korwin-Mikke is then perhaps justified in saying that the undertaking of any decision connected with making a choice constitutes the loss of hypothetically better opportunities. However, if one were to regard these speculations as a way of life, it would spell an end to human existence. On the other hand, LAD's expert recommends renunciation of choice in international trade and avoidance of commitments, because neither offers a guarantee of the greatest profit. Furthermore, his account of exporting results is abridged and hence defective. The author of the article entitled "Exports to the King of Prussia" takes into consideration only the worthless, in his opinion, and relative advantages of exporting, but says nothing about the benefits derived from imports which indeed preceded those exports that created the possibilities for importing. Moreover, under our actual economic conditions, often the dollar earned even at great expense as a result of exports is a profitable achievement because of imports. Those

imports affect the bottom line. Because if we pay some several hundred zlotys in exports for 1 dollar we buy an element of production that makes feasible the actual manufacturing of an object worth several tens of thousands of zlotys-- the loss in exports will be compensated for by the economically beneficial results of imports. Korwin-Mikke does not at all consider the actual dependence of our industry on imports, nor the fact that less profitable exports can pave the way to very profitable imports, which in turn are a condition of the already more profitable exporting of manufactured goods, due to prior imports. The general reluctance to export and undertake contractual decisions leads Korwin-Mikke to attack the practice of exporting coal. He is unfamiliar with the actual economic computations upon which this export is based, stating only that the price of coal includes the cost of mine construction exclusively, its exploitation as well as product transportation, whereas he says nothing of the value of the natural resource itself, which is coal. This means, in LAD's opinion, that by exporting we lose this value which has not been included, and waste the national wealth and deplete the inheritance which future generations following us would receive.

It is true that only labor is included in the cost of coal, but not the gifts of nature. Similarly the "value of a river's existence" is not calculated in the cost of electrical energy generated by hydroelectric plants. If an American concern purchases the right to exploit petroleum reserves in the Near East, the acquisition cost of the license to exploit is obviously included in the cost of every barrel of crude oil. Poland, on the other hand, is not required to pay anyone for the right to mine its coal. However, it would have no economic grounds for including that value in the price of coal which we could theoretically obtain by selling to another nation rights to exploit our deposits. Because such negotiations do not enter into play.

Korwin-Mikke could also economize on the garments he tears in despair because we export the national wealth and decrease the heritage of future generations. For it is a known fact that we possess considerable strata of unexploited coal to which future generations can help themselves if they construct mines. Furthermore, thinking about our coal in terms of future centuries could be deceptive. It is not certain whether in 100 or 200 years coal will be considered as a worthwhile and profitable source of energy by the West. The development of technology can eventually reduce the cost of new sources of energy, thus making them more profitable. For example, let us consider atomic energy, solar energy, or energy derived from ocean waves, or, generally speaking, sources as yet unknown today.

After all, on the other hand, we would perform a disservice to our great-grandsons in deciding on economic passivity and sophisticated recourse, so that our descendants could start from zero to benefit from the untapped natural wealth. The level of life for Poles in 100 and 200 years is dependent on our economic resourcefulness.

Korwin-Mikke's arguments do not concur whatsoever with actual existing market conditions for coal. The LAD journalist errs in saying that the West, being more intelligent than we, is closing its coal mines. On the contrary: in Australia, the United States and Canada, mining of coal is increasing, as is its

export, which adds to our troubles because it intensifies competition in the marketplace. Therefore, it does not appear that we are the only ones stupid enough to sell coal abroad; in other words, we dispose of valuable national wealth for a farthing, which it would be better to preserve for future generations, and undertake, in LAD's words, the weaving of wicker baskets. Specifically, in exporting coal to capitalist countries, on the average we acquire 1 dollar for 63 zlotys and 50 groszes, which is a profitable conversion on the basis of simple economic calculation, but yet very profitable if one considers what significant values our industry earns when it has access to possibilities for dollar imports. The allegation that, as a result of exporting coal, Poland is growing poor while the countries that import grow rich is not supported by any reliable figures.

LAD's attack on the export of coal by Poland ends with the conclusion that the poor cannot afford, and I quote, "unprofitable acts of charity for the benefit of creditors. Debts are repaid not with goods but with money, which it is necessary to collect by direct taxation, because only that will not interfere with optimizing the economy."

If it were actually possible to repay Polish debts in zlotys and even more so in amounts derived from the imposition of direct taxes, I would recommend that Janusz Korwin-Mikke be appointed minister of finance, regardless of the moral cost of such a nomination. I would block my ears to world-wide laughter and offer him Nieckarz's easy chair. The repayment of debts not through exports but through the transfer of zlotys derived from public taxation! Well, most certainly, if only creditors were agreeable to that. But it would seem that there are limits to the nonsense that can be published in periodicals with general circulation.

According to LAD's author, Poland is guilty of the crime of exporting coal for only one reason, and in general is involved in needless foreign exchange, instead of printing money and distributing it among the citizenry and then collecting those zlotys in the form of taxes for transferral to creditors. The government has neither the strength nor the authority to collect those taxes directly; it is easier for it to bargain with mining managers than with every citizen individually. The government is too soft, LAD deduces, it does not advocate a firm policy. The helmsman of the nation is too concerned with public popularity to proceed wisely and firmly when necessary. (Presumably it is a matter of reducing the living standard by one-half, because at that price the zloty could be made exchangeable.)

Previously, the weekly LAD maintained that the Polish authorities are too firm; now this periodical proclaims that they are overly tolerant and cater to the citizenry. This creates the impression that what the government was being charged with was not true. Every argumentation, even the most idiotic, is good when it leads to the conclusion that this is a wicked government. However, this appears difficult to prove, although it is even more difficult to govern, which might be demonstrated to LAD if Korwin-Mikke were sent, let us say, on a trip to the Western bankers with a suitcase full of zlotys.

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